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MĀLAVA AS THE NAME OF THE UJJAYINĪ REGION

By
D C SIRCAR

The vast area between Bundelkhand in the east and Rajas than in the west has been known as Malwa (Mālava) since medieval times. In the ancient period the eastern part of this territory was called Akara or Dasarna which had its capital at the city of Vidisa, modern Besnagar on the Betwa (ancient Vetravati) near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. The Avanti country having its headquarters at Ujjayinī on the Siprā also in Madhya Pradesh, was situated in the western part of Malwa. But when exactly the ancient Avanti and Akara Dasarna regions came to be known as Malava (Malwa) has not yet been properly investigated. The territory could have been so called after its occupation by the Mālava people.

In the eighth decade of the fourth century B C when Alexander the Great of Macedon invaded the north-western regions of Bharatavarsha, the Mālavas, called Malloi by the Greeks, are known to have been living in the land lying to the north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab and were probably confederated with the Kshudrakas who inhabited the Montgomery District of West Pakistan. From the said area, the Malavas or at least a large section of the tribe, migrated to the Jaipur-Tonk region of Rajasthan. This movement may have begun during the Indo Greek occupation of the Punjab, but seems to have continued down to the Scythian conquest of that territory.¹

Thousands of Mālava coins were discovered at the village of Nagar (ancient Malavanagara) near Uniyara in the Tonk District. Nagar must have been the chief city of the Malava people though their political influence soon spread over wide areas of Rajasthan. This is indicated by the discovery of a number of inscriptions bearing dates in the Krita or Mālava era, in different parts of the State.² There is little doubt that the old Avanti and Akara Dasarna regions came to be known as Malava due to their contact with these Malavas. But historians do not appear to have any clear idea as to when the name Mālava became popular in the sense of the territory now called Malwa. That is why whenever the name Malava is noticed in the epigraphic and literary records of the post-Gupta age, it is generally regarded as identical with modern Malwa.³ But there is evidence to show that this is erroneous.

1 *The Age of Imperial Unity* p 163

2 *Ibid* pp 164 65

3 Cf *The Classical Age* pp 98 105 06 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp 9 24 26 etc

About the beginning of the seventh century A.D., Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harshacharita* speaks of the Mālavas as friends of the Gaudas of West Bengal and as enemies of the Pushyabhūtis of Thanesar and the Maukharis of Kanauj.⁴ The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the second quarter of the same century, also gives an account of the Mo-la-p'o or Mālava country.⁵ The Mālavas are again mentioned by Ravikīrti in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. as having been defeated by the celebrated Chālukya king Pulakeśin II of Badami.⁶ But these contemporary authorities do not speak of the same Mālava country or people.

What Bāṇabhaṭṭa meant by 'Mālava' is clearly indicated by his *Kādambari*.⁷ In this work, Vidiṣā on the Vetravatī is represented as the capital of Mālava while Ujjayinī on the Siprā is described as the chief city of the Avanti (Avanti) country. This shows that East Malwa had already become famous as Mālava, though West Malwa still retained its ancient name Avanti. That this nomenclature of East and West Malwa was not totally forgotten in much later times is known from Yaśodhara's commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, entitled *Jayamāṅgalā*, which was composed in the thirteenth century, as well as from the *Śaktisāṅgama-tantra* of a still later date. Yaśodhara explains Mālavi (the Mālava girls) as 'born in Eastern Mālava' while Āvantikā (the girls of Avanti) is explained by him as 'born in the land of Ujjayinī' and 'the girls of Western Mālava'.⁸ The *Śaktisāṅgama-tantra* likewise applies the names Mālava and Avanti respectively to East and West Malwa.⁹

Hiuen-tsang also distinguishes between Mo-la-p'o (Mālava) and the Wu-she-yen-na (Ujjayinī) territory. But he locates Mālava not in East Malwa as done by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, but in the valley of the river Mō-ha i.e. the Mahī in Gujarat, and further says that Kheṭa (modern Kaira) and Ānandapura (modern Vadnagar) both in the present Gujarat State, formed parts of Mālava. Thus, while Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Mālava lay to the east of Avanti (Ujjayinī), Hiuen-tsang places Mālava to the west of the Ujjayinī region.

After the extirpation of the Śakas of Western India by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya about the close of the fourth century, East and West Malwa were being ruled respectively by the Later Guptas and the Aulikaras as vassals of the Guptas. Both these ruling families appear to have belonged to the Mālava clan, though the clan-name attached itself only to the former probably because two contiguous kingdoms could have hardly borne the same name.

4. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 51, 65 ff.

5. Watters, *On Yen Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 242 ff.

6. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 6, verse 22.

7. Ed. H. Siddhāntavāgīśa pp. 19 and 183

8. Cf. VI 5 22 and 24 with Yaśodhara's commentary thereon

9. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 91-92.

The Aihole inscription seems to represent the Mālavas as the neighbours of the Lāṭas who had their headquarters at Navasārikā (modern Nausari in the Surat District of South Gujarat) and the Gurjaras who ruled from the city of Nāndipuri in the present Broach District in the same neighbourhood. These Mālavas therefore appear to have lived in Hiuen-tsang's Mālava in the Gujarat region and not in East' Malwa which is called Mālava by Bāṇabhaṭṭa. In later records, Kakka, viceroy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Govinda III (794-814 A.D.), claims to have been stationed in the Lāṭa country (South Gujarat) for the purpose of checking Gurjara-Pratihāra encroachment into Mālava.¹⁰ This Mālava is apparently Hiuen-tsang's and not Bāṇabhaṭṭa's, since East Malwa could hardly have been defended by an officer stationed at a distance in Southern Gujarat.

In West Malwa, the Hūnas subdued the Aulikara feudatories of the Guptas about the close of the fifth century, though Yaśodharman of the Aulikara dynasty re-established the fortunes of the family by defeating the Hūna king Mihiṇakula about 532 A.D.¹¹ A few decades later, the Kalachuris of the Narmadā valley extended their power over Malwa. A charter of Kalachuri Śāṅkaragana was issued from Ujjayini in 595 A.D. while his son Buddharāja issued a grant from Vādiśa (Vidiśā) in 608 A.D.¹² But Hiuen-tsang states that Mālava in Gujarat formed a part of the dominions of the Maitraka king Śilāditya Dharmāditya (605-09 A.D.) of Valabhī (modern Wala near Bhavnagar in Kathiawar), while Śilāditya's successor Kharagraha I is known to have issued his Vīḍi plates from Ujjayini in 617 A.D.¹³ We also know from the *Harshacharita* and the *Pushyabhūti* inscriptions that the Mālava (East Malwa) king Devagupta was defeated by king Rājyavardhana of Thanesar about 605 A.D.¹⁴ It is not improbable that, about the beginning of the seventh century, the Pushyabhūtis and Kalachuris were allied against a combination of the Maitrakas and Later Guptas. Some time later, however, the Pushyabhūti king Harshavardhana seems to have occupied both East and West Malwa and compelled the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (629-43 A.D.) to become his subordinate ally.¹⁵ Dhruvasena II is known to have granted land in the district called Mālavaka (Mālava) apparently in the Mahi valley.¹⁶

10. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., p. 163

11. Cf. *Select Inscriptions* pp. 386 ff., 391 (verse 43), 395 (verse 6)

12. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 1206-07

13. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State* Vol. I, pp. 7 ff. The *Āryamāṇjuśrīmālakalpa* (v. 586) includes Ujjayani in Śilāditya's kingdom

14. Tripathi, *op. cit.* pp. 64 ff., 72

15. *Proc. A.I.O. Con.*, Vol XII, p. 525

16. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* Nos. 1346-47

The above sketch of the history of Malwa does not throw any light on the problem regarding the application of the name Mālava to ancient Avanti. More important in this respect is the evidence furnished by Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* composed in the earlier half of the tenth century A.D and the Muslim historian Balādhurī who wrote his *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān* a century earlier. Among the territories of Western India, Rājaśekhara mentions 'Avanti, Vaidiśa, Surāshṭra, Mālava, Arbuda, Bhrigukachchha and others'.¹⁷ The list distinguishes Mālava from Avanti (West Malwa) and Vaidiśa (East Malva) and seems to locate the Mālava country between Sau-rāshṭra (Kathiawar) and Arbuda (Mount Abu). This Mālava is no doubt Hiuen-tsang's Mālava in the Mahi valley. Balādhurī likewise distinguishes Ujjayini from Mālava when he says that Junayd, the Arab governor of Sind, raided about 725 A.D certain West Indian localities including Uzain (Ujjayini) and al-Malibah (Mālava).¹⁸ It appears therefore that Mālava did not become popular as the name of West Malwa even in the first half of the tenth century.

Till the middle of the tenth century, the Paramāras appear to have been ruling in the Mahi valley where Hiuen-tsang locates the Mālava country. In 949 A.D., the Paramāra king Harsha Siyaka issued his Harsola plates¹⁹ from a camp on the Mahi at the request of the ruler of Khetaka (modern Kaira), who was apparently his feudatory. The same Paramāra king claims to have defeated the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Khoṭṭiga (967-72 A.D.) of Mānyakheṭa²⁰. Scholars generally trace the same achievement of the Paramāras in a statement of Dhanapāla in his *Pāiyalachchhī* (972-73 A.D.) according to which the Mālavas burnt the city of Mānyakheṭa.²¹ It seems therefore that these Paramāras were regarded as Mālavas. Whether they represented a sect of the ancient Mālava clan or were called Mālava as rulers of the Mālava country in the Mahi valley is difficult to determine, though the first alternative seems to be more probable.

Vākpati Muñja, son of Harsha Siyaka, issued a charter from Ujjayini in 975 A.D.²² His successors ruled over East and West Malwa for several centuries with the centres of their power in the city of Dhārā (modern Dhar) and the fort of Maṇḍapa (modern Mandu), both in West Malwa. The Paramāra kings including Vākpati and Bhoja (1000-55 A.D.) became famous as the lords of

17. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, G.O.S., p. 9

18. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 9

19. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 64

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 135, 137 (verse 12)

21. Ray, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 830-51

22. Bhandarkar *op. cit.* No. 84

Mālava²³ In the eleventh century, the Paramāra contemporary of Chālukya Somesvara I (1043-68 A D) is called Mālavendra in Bihana's *Vikramānladevacharita* (III 67) while Yādavaprakāsa's *Vaijayantī* regards Malava and Avanti as identical²⁴ The popularity of the name Mālava in the sense of West Malwa thus appears to date from the Paramāra occupation of the territory in the latter half of the tenth century A D

23 Cf the fourteenth century work *Prabandhachintamani* Tawney's trans. pp 16 29-30 32, 36 44 etc

24 See Oppert's ed., p 36 In the twelfth century Hemachandra's *Abhidhanachintamani* (verse 956) supports the identification This work gives Avanti as another name of Ujjayinī (verse 976) though the variants *Avanti* and *Aranti* are both known to have been used to indicate the country and its capital

A ZERO MORPHEME IN HINDI

By
VLADIMÍR MÍLTNER

Any morpheme, generally spoken, consists of one or more phonemes endowed with some semantic or grammatical meaning. What form cannot be divided into smaller meaningful parts is a morpheme. Any morpheme that can be spoken alone with meaning in normal communicative speech is a free form, a fraction that never appears by itself with meaning is a bound form.

While inquiring into the Hindi grammar, my attention fell on the morphemic structure of some substitute words, namely demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns, pronominal adjectives and adverbs. They run as follows *yah*, *vah*, /vo/, *so*, /ko/, *jo*, /taun/, *kaun* /jaun/, *ye*, *ve*, *te*, /je/, *is*, *us*, *tis*, *kis*, *jis*, *in* *un*, *tin*, *kin*, *jin*, *aisā*, *vaisā*, *taisā* *kaisā*, *jaisā* *itna*, *utnā*, *titnā*, *kitnā*, *jitnā*, *ab* *tab*, *kab*, *jab*, *yahān*, *vahan*, *tahan*, *kahān*, *jahān*, *idhar*, *udhar*, *tidhar* *kidhar* *yidhar*, *yon* *tyoⁿ* *kyon*, *jyon*

What is so interesting here? It is their morphemic structure forming a fairly accomplished system. It is obvious even at first glance that there are certain correlations between these words, e.g. *ye te* /je/, or *kis kin* *kitnā* *kidhar*. But this is not the task of my article—here I want to demonstrate the existence of a zero morpheme in Hindi.

After having morphemically analyzed the above quoted substitutes with all their morphologic forms, I arrived at such a list of their constituent morphemes:

-ab time adverb, —> optionally any particle/ *hī bhī*, *to* /
ah, sg dir pronoun /dial variant -o/ —> optionally any particle

-ah, place adverb —> -ān, -ām
-a sg dir masc marker /used substantivally or adjectivally/,—> optionally any particle /*hī bhī*, *to*, *sā* /
-ān no emphasis marker —> optionally any particle excepting *hī* /See -ām/

-t proximity demonstrative marker, /allomorph *y-*/ —> -tn-
-dhar, -n -s,
-yaⁿ pl dir fem marker /used substantivally/, —> optionally any particle
-yoⁿ pl obl fem marker /used substantivally/, —> any postposition or any particle followed by a postposition

-i' sg and pl dir and obl fem marker /used adjectivally/, sg dir fem marker /used substantivally/, —> optionally any particle

-i' sg obl fem marker /used substantivally/, —> any post-position or any particle followed by a postposition

-ⁱn emphasis marker, —> optionally any particle excepting *h* /See *dⁿ* /

-u- distance demonstrative marker /allomorph *u*/, —> -tn-, -dhar, -n, s,

-e₁ pl dir pronoun, —> optionally any particle

-e₂ sg dat or acc marker, —> optionally any particle

-e, sg obl and pl dir and obl masc marker /used adjectivally/, pl dir masc /used substantivally/, —> optionally any particle

-e'', sg obl masc /used substantivally/, —> any post-position or any particle followed by a postposition

-e, adverbization marker, —> optionally any particle

-ais- quality pronominal adjective, —> -ā, -iyān, -iyon, -ī, -ī'', -e'.

e'', e₁, -oⁿ

-o sg dir pronoun sometimes dial, see -ah₁, and -aun, —> optionally any particle

-oⁿ pl obl masc marker /used substantivally/, —> any post-position or any particle followed by a postposition

-aun sg dir def pronoun /dial variant *o*/, —> optionally any particle

k interrogative marker /allomorph *ki*/, —> -ab, -ah₂,

-ais-, o, -aun, -yon

ki- interrogative marker /allomorph *k*/, —> -tn-, -dhar, n, -s,

j- relative marker /allomorph *ji*/, —> -ab -ah₂, -e, /dial/ -ais-, o -aun -yon

j- relative marker /allomorph *j*/, —> -tn-, -dhar -n, s,

t distance correlative /demonstrative/ marker /allomorphs ti- s₁-, —> ab, -ah₂, e₁, ais aun /dial/, -yon

ti distance correlative /demonstrative/ marker /allomorphs t-, s₁-, —> -tn-, dhar, -n, -s,

-tn- quantity pronominal adjective —> ā, iyān -iyon, -ī', -ī'', -e'', e₁, -oⁿ

-dhar place adverb —> optionally any particle

n pl obl pronoun, —> any postposition or any particle followed by a postposition, -heⁿ, hoⁿ

y proximity demonstrative marker /allomorph *i* / —> -ah, -ah₂, -e,

-yon manner adverb —> optionally any particle

v- distance demonstrative marker /allomorph *u* / ah, -ah, -e₁, -ais-, -o 'dial /

s₁- distance correlative /demonstrative/ marker /allomorphs t, t₁-/, → o
 s₂ sg obl pronoun, → any postposition or any participle followed by a postposition, -e₂
 -heⁿ pl dat or acc marker, → optionally any particle
 -hoⁿ optional suffix, → any postposition or any particle followed by a postposition

The arrow → shows what must follow the given morpheme of the list. The string of morphemes goes on as far as the resulting form is able to fill the function of a sentence part, namely the subject the predicate, the object, the attribute or the complement. It is here, where the limit of the morphology and its boundary with the syntax may be stipulated. All the morphemes listed above are so called bound forms and their order is rigidly fixed, features of selection, moreover, designate the constituents that may be united into a complex form.

As we have seen, the first constituent morpheme expresses demonstrativeness /t-, y-, u-, v-/, interrogativeness /k- k₁/, relativity /j- j₁/ or correlativity /t, t₁, s₁-/, and only the next morpheme or morphemes determine the resulting form as e.g. a pronoun an adjective or an adverb. Compare however, these forms carefully.

proximity demonstrative	ab	aīsā	yo ⁿ
distance demonstrative	—	vāīsa	—
interrogative	kab	kaisā	kyo ⁿ
relative	jab	jaisā	jyo ⁿ
correlative /demonstrative/	tab	taīsa	tyo ⁿ

After having compared the interrogative marker k the relative marker j- and the correlative /demonstrative/ marker t-, and also the single distance demonstrative marker v, with the forms ab, aīsā and yoⁿ, it becomes clear enough that the proximity demonstrative marker is expressed by nothing i.e. by zero. It is just owing to the perfect system that the zero has gained the definite meaning here. This zero morpheme one of the dialectic "meaningful zeros", thus can be considered an allomorph of t- and y- and should be added to the foregoing list of morphemes.

AGNIPURĀNA AND THE RĀMĀYANA

By
A. N. KRISHNA AYANGAR

Of the two epics in this country, the *Rāmayana* and the *Mahābhārata*, the former is the older of the two and is known as the first *kāvya* or *Adikāvya*. The Lord's infinite mercy decided that the *Ramayana*, in 100 crores of verses available in the *Satyaloka* of the four-faced Brahma, should be brought to the earth for the benefit of humanity. For, the one Supreme entity was born as the son of Dasaratha and was ruling, at that time, over the world.¹ The *Vedas*, which treated about Him and his greatness, descended to the earth in the form of the *Ramayana* through Sage Vālmīki, the Cuckoo *par excellance*,² to sing the praises of the Lord. Sarasvatī made her first descent in the shape of the *kāvya* through the *Ramayana* to the earth.³

The occasion started with Vālmīki being the witness of a tragedy on his way to the river *Tamasā* for his midday bath, of the death of one of two *krauñca* birds, killed by a hunter.⁴ His deep sense of sorrow burst forth in the form of a classical verse which became the *bija* of the whole epic.⁵ Vālmīki returned after his midday bath to his *āsrama* and was still ruminating over the strange verse which he had composed unconsciously—sorrow emanating in the shape of a verse⁶—was surprised and wondering at it, when the Creator himself paid him a visit and explained the purpose for his coming.⁷ Only that very morning, Sage Vālmīki had heard the story of *Rāmāyana* from Nārada, in response to his own searching questions in quest of *Brahman*.⁸ In witnessing the tragedy of the *krauñca* bird he had composed a verse. Brahma, the Creator, assured the Sage, that what he had composed was not only a good verse but a superior verse which contained in it the entire philosophy of

* This paper forms part of a series entitled 'Ramayana in the Purāṇas'

१ वेदवेदे परे पुसि जाते दाचरयात्मजे ।

वेद प्राचेतसादासीत् साक्षाद्वामायणात्मना ॥

२ कूजन्त राम रामेति मधुर मधुराक्षरम् ।

आरुह्य कविताशाखा वन्दे वाल्मीकिकोकिलम् ॥

३ पादन्यास प्रयमनन्ध भारती यत्र चक्रे ।

4 *Rāmāyana* (M L J Press Edn. Madras 1933) I. ii vv 9-14.

5 Ibid., v 15 मा निपाद प्रतिष्ठा त्वमगम शाश्वती समा ।

यत्कौङ्कमिथुनादेकमवधी कामसोहितम् ॥

6 Ibid., I ii 18 शोकार्तस्य प्रवृत्तो मे श्लोको भवतु नान्यथा ।

7 Ibid. I ii vv 23-30

8 Ibid. I i vv 2-5

the Rāmāyana epic and of the world. He therefore encouraged him to write out the story of Rāma and Sītā and blessed him with all the necessary powers of intuition and energy, and knowledge with the promise, that this epic would live in this world, as long as the rivers and mountains existed in the world, and as long as the Rāma yana was prevalent in this world, Sage Vālmīki would reside in the Brahmaloka⁹

Such an important work, which is considered as a basic text for the interpretation of philosophical and allegorical problems in the explanation of philosophical concepts of the Spirit, Matter and the Supreme, has also furnished a forum in the *puranas* for a summary of its account and narration of the story contained in the epic. Such a summary is contained in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰ in the first instance. The Pāṇḍavas, living in the forest, when deprived of their kingdom, as a result of Dharmaputra's defeat in playing dice with Śakuni, had to be consoled, and many upākhyānas were narrated to Dharmaputra, such as the story of Nala and Damayanti etc. The *Ramayana* was also one of them. Many of the *puranas* contain accounts of the *Ramayana* story such as the *Padmapurana*, the *Agnipurana*, the *Bhāgavata purāna*, the *Viṣṇupurana*, only to mention a few. Each has adopted its own way of introducing the subject and of narrating the story. Differences are also visible in the narration sometimes in details. The account in the *Agnipurāna* is unique in that it follows the same division as the *Ramāyana* of seven sections. Each *kānda* in the *Rāmāyana* is summarised in a single chapter and is the subject matter of study in the present paper¹¹

The *Agnipurana* in its present version, available to us, is considered to be a late work and a compilation of many subjects. It is in fact, an encyclopaedia in 383 chapters, with a verse content of 11,457 slokas. It contains summaries of the *Rāmāyana*,¹² *Mahābhārata*¹³ the rules relating to the worship of various deities,¹⁴ the performance of various types of festivities for the deities,¹⁵ defining the *lakṣaṇas* of the various deities and how they should be made for consecration,¹⁶ the reconsecration of temples that had fallen into bad days or had gone out of worship or had other defects,¹⁷ *māhātmyas* of various holy places like Prayaga,¹⁸ etc. It also contains summaries of the various *sastras*, such as *Vyakarana*¹⁹ *jyotiṣa*,²⁰

9 Ibid I u vv 31-38

10 *Mahabharata* Vanaparva Chap 273 to 291

11 *Agni purāna* (Anandashrama Series No 41) 1900 chap 5 11

12 *Agni purana* chap 5-11

13 Ibid chap 12-15

17 Ibid chap 67

14 Ibid chap 21 23

18 Ibid chap 103 109-116

15 Ibid chap 33 37 68 78 80

19 Ibid chap 349-367

16 Ibid chap 38 57 97-102

20 Ibid chap 121-139

Vratas,²¹ expiatory ceremonies,²² Rājadharma,²³ Omens,²⁴ Nīti,²⁵ Dhanurveda,²⁶ substantive Law,²⁷ medical treatment for trees and plants,²⁸ medical treatment of horses and elephants,²⁹ toxicology³⁰ the essence of the four vedas,³¹ Alankaraśastra,³² yoga³³ and Brahmajñāna³⁴ or the knowledge of the Supreme. There is a chapter on *Advaitabrahmavijñanam*³⁵ which is a narration of the story of Jādabharata and the king of Sindhū and Sauvīra Rahugana (cf. *Bhagavatam*, V, sargas 10 13). The *Gīta*³⁶ is summarised in 57 verses. There is one chapter called *Yamagīta*^{36a} and closes with the māhatmya- of the *Agnipurāna* itself.³⁷ The list is only illustrative and not exhaustive.

In fact, the purāna can be called a compendium and a handbook for quick reference to those who are conversant with the entire field of Hindu Sacred literature, both for the Brahmana and the Kṣatriya, who is actually ruling over the country. There is not one chapter which will not be useful, either to the one or the other, of the two classes. Particularly, in an age which believed in the efficacy of the mantras Śāntis, prayascittas, fulfilment of desires through the *japa* of Vedic mantras, the work is a mine of information and a practical manual and guide. Substantive Law and procedure get five chapters.

The story of Rāma is dealt with in seven chapters from the fifth to the eleventh, one kānda of the original being summarised in one chapter. The summary of the Bālakānda is given in 15 verses, including the introductory verse, Ayodhyakānda is in 51 verses, Aranya 24, Kīṣkindhā 17, Sundarakānda 33, Yuddhakānda 35 and Uttarakānda 14 verses, making a total of 179 verses in all. The verses are all in anuṣṭup and the longer metres are not found in use. The narration is simple, and in some cases the verses in the original epic are found repeated here (e.g. *Agnipurāna*, viii 6 8).

The summary of the Bālakānda starts from Dasaratha whose descent is traced from Lord Narayana through Brahmā, Marīci, Kaśyapa Vivasvan and his son Vaivasvata Manu. In that family was born Dasaratha and Lord Narayana took the decision to be born as the four sons of Dasaratha, for punishing Rāvana and killing him. The arrival at Ayodhya of Sage Visvamitra to claim Ramachandra from Dasaratha for the protection of his sacrifice the killing of Tataka on the way, the initiation of Rāmacandra and Laksmana into the

21 Ibid chap 175 200 205 207 208
 22 Ibid chap 168 174
 23 Ibid chap 223 228 239 242
 24 Ibid chap 230
 25 Ibid chap 238
 26 Ibid chap 249-252
 27 Ibid chap 252 258
 28 Ibid chap 282
 29 Ibid chap 287 292

30 Ibid, chap 294 297
 31 Ibid chap 259-262
 32 Ibid chap 343-347
 33 Ibid chap 372-376
 34 Ibid chap 377 379
 35 Ibid chap. 380
 36 Ibid chap 381
 36a Ibid., chap 382
 37 Ibid chap 383

mysteries of astras, the protection of the *yaga* and the death of Subāhu and the use of Manavastra³⁸ which created a lasting impression in Marica's mind, against Mārica, the trek to Mithila in the company of Sage Visvāmitra and others, the breaking of the Śaiva bow, marriage of Sīta and Rāma and the marriages of all the brothers the encounter with Parasurāma on the way back to Ayodhyā ending in the victory of the son of Dasaratha and Parasurāma's recognition of Rāmacandra's superiority, entering Ayodhyā in triumph with the newly wedded couples, are all narrated in as brief a manner as possible in 15 verses. A notable omission, in the sequence of events, is the emancipation of Ahalyā which is considered as one of the most important anecdotes³⁹. For, in that very kanda when he started with Visvāmitra for the protection of his sacrifice Tataka, a woman was killed as a preliminary to the main act. And when they were coming near the outskirts of Mithilā, Visvāmitra drew the attention of Rāma and desired that he should visit the āśrama of Sage Gautama and release Ahalyā from the curse of the sage⁴⁰. In most narrations—though they may be brief—this item generally finds a place. The omission of such an event is to be noted.

The second kanda—Ayodhyakanda, is summarised in 51 verses and starts with the preparations for the coronation of Rama as Yuva raja, which is obstructed by Kaikeyi⁴¹. The antagonism of Manthara to Rama is explained in a verse. She was punished by Rāma by being dragged by her legs for her fault,⁴² and this created an enmity in her mind—an enmity which was useful for serving his purpose of Ravanavadha, for which he had incarnated himself. Valmiki does not indicate the reason for the extraordinary enmity which Manthara developed towards Rāma. He called her a *jñānatā* and *yatojatā*⁴³—a somebody whose identity was of no consequence in matters royal. Born of unknown parents and brought

38 *Agnipurana* v 8

मारीच मानवास्त्रण मोहित दूरतोऽनयत ।
मुवाहृ गजहन्तर सबल चावधीदबली ॥

39 In the *Raghuviragadya* Venkatanatha describes the occasion of Ahalyā's union with Gautama in the following passage: जडकिरण शबलधर जटिल नटपति मकुटतट
नटनपटु विद्युधसरिदिति पृथल मधुगलन लरित पदनलिनरज उपमूदित निजवृजिन जहदपलतनु
हचिर परम मूनिकर पुरुतिनुत—

40 *Ramāyana* I Sargas 48 49

41 *Ibid* II ix xiv

42 *Agnipurana* vi, 8

पादो गहोत्वा रामेण वर्पिता साऽपरापत ।

तेन देरेण सा राम वनवास च काङ्क्षति ॥

43 *Ramāyana* II, vii 1

जातिदासी यतोजाता कंवेष्यास्तु सहोपिता ।

प्रामाद चन्द्रसद्वानामाहरोह यहच्छ्या ॥

up in the palace of Kaikeyī's father she was sent along with Kaikeyī at the time of her marriage with Dasaratha—as a servant to serve the personal interests of Kaikeyī. But, unfortunately, in this instance, she held the field firm, to the discomfiture of all concerned, and caused a revolution in the family circle and the kingdom. One may heap many abuses on her but she stood firm in her resolve, and trained her ward Kaikeyī to play her part well in consummating her desire. She was primarily interested in saving her self from the kingship of Rāma and requested Kaikeyī to save Bharata, Bharata's mother Kaikeyī and Mantharā from the undesirable situation, according to her^{43a}

Bharata's return to the kingdom at the commands of Vasistha gave him the opportunity to appraise the situation. The text of the *purāna* runs

Drstva sasokam Kaikeyim nindayamasa duhkhitah/

Akurtih patitā murdhni Kausalyām ca prasamsa ca//⁴⁴

There appears to be a mistake here, for, the reading should be *tvāsokām* i.e. Bharata found his mother Kaikeyī without *soka* or grief at the death of Dasaratha her husband, and this agrees with the text of Valmīki

The purana includes in its account of the Ayodhyakānda the Kākāsura upakhyana⁴⁵—Rama aiming the Brahmāstra at Kaka-sura who, finding no other protector, came back and fell at the feet of Rama, who, out of sheer mercy, made him loose one eye and spared his life. Valmīki introduces this incident through the mouth of Sita when she narrates to Hanuman, the concern Rama had for her⁴⁶. He who punished Kakasura for a lesser offence with the Brahmāstra should keep quiet and allow Ravana to escape proper punishment was a strange phenomenon and was beyond her to digest easily. It would show his indifference. She also directed

The *Padmapurana* holds that Manthara was an Apsara sent by the gods especially for the purpose of obstructing the easy coronation of Rama for it was their intention that it should succeed the death of Ravana. The killing of Ravana the main object of the *avatāra* should be completed before Rama started his reign. Cf *Padmapurana*

मध्यरा नाम कार्यार्थमप्सरा प्रेपिता सुरे ।

दासी कावन कैकेयी दत्ता केचन भूमृता ।

43a *Agnipurana* vi 12-13

बालिदा रक्ष भरत मात्रान मा च राघवात ।

भविता राघवो राजा राघवस्य तत सुता ॥

राजवशस्तु कैव्यी भरतात् परिहस्यते ।

44 *Ibid* v 45

45 *Ibid*, vv 36-37

सीतायै दशायामास चित्रकूट स राघव ।

नसुर्वै विदारयन्त ता काष तच्चक्षुराधिष्पत ॥

दोषीकास्त्रेण शरण प्राप्तो देवान् विहाय स ।

Hanuman to mention the incident as a remembrancer, an item which was bound to recall tender memories to his mind and act as a scintillating agent provocateur to make a determined attempt against Ravana. It is to be noted, that what is found in the Vālmīki *Ramayana* in the Sundarakānda has been shifted in the present version of *Agnipurana* to the middle of Ayodhyakānda, where the life of Rāma with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa at Cītrakūṭa is described.

The visit to the āśrama of Atri and Sītā meeting Anasūyā find their narration in the two sargas of the Ayodhyakānda of Vālmīki at the end of the kanda. The last sarga describes the entrance into the Dandakaranya^{46a}. A small change is found in the *purāṇa* account of Aranyakānda by starting from the departure of Vasishtha, Bharata and the three wives of Dasaratha and the visit of Rāma to the āśrama of Sage Atri⁴⁷. The first person to meet Rāma in the Dandaka forest was Virādha who was killed. This incident is omitted though it is considered an important event in the progress of Rāma through the forest. It is noteworthy that Viradha met with his end when Rāma entered the Dandaka forest and Kabandha, another Raksasa was killed by the brothers, when they left it for meeting Sugrīva on the shores of the Pampā Lake.

Kabandha informed Rāma that Śabari was waiting for him⁴⁸ and Rāma visited her āśrama and accepted her pūja⁴⁹. Vālmīki mentions this at the end of the Aranyakānda, whereas the *purāṇa* puts it at the beginning of the Kiskindhakānda⁵⁰. Similarly, Sundarakānda in Vālmīki starts with description of Hanumān attempting to cross the ocean⁵¹. The discussion as to who should undertake the work, the capacity of each to cross over, the final decision to request Hanumān arrived at by the intelligent counsel of Jāmbavan, form part of the Kiskindhākanda Sargas 64-67. The *purāṇic* account begins the advice of Sampāti to look for Sīta in Lankā, in the Asokavantika and the council of the vānara leaders delibe-

46a *Ramayana*, II Sarga cxix.

47 *Agnipurana* vii 1.

रामो वसिष्ठ मातृश्च नत्वात्रि च प्रणम्य स ।

अनसूया च तत्पत्नी शरभग्नः सुतीष्णकम् ॥

Ramayana, II 117-18

48 *Rāmāyana* III lxxii 26-27

तेषामध्यापि तत्रैव हृश्यते परिचारिणी ।
श्रमणी शबरी नाम काकुत्स्य विरजीविनी ॥
त्वा तु घर्मे स्थिता नित्य सर्वभतनमस्तुतम् ।
हृष्ट्वा देवोपम राम स्वर्गलोक यदिष्यति ।

49 *Ibid* III lxxiv

50 *Agni* VIII 1

राम पम्पासरो गत्वाऽशोचत्स शबरी गत ।

51 *Rāmāyana*, V, 1— तसो रावणनीताया सीताया शनुक्त्वान् ।

rating over the question of how to cross the ocean and who should cross it. *Agnipurāṇa*, ix, i.

Sampātivacanaṁ śrutvā hanūmān=angadādayaḥ
Abdhim dṛṣṭvā'bruvan te'bdhim laṅghayet ko nu jivayet.

The triumph of Indrajit in binding Hanumān is mentioned as the result of Nāgapāśa⁵² apparently a mistake for Brahmāstra for Hanumān had received a boon that no astra could bind him or harm or maim him. Even the Brahmāstra—the prince among astras would bind him only once, in his life. Indrajit bound him with Brahmāstra as he found that Hanumān was not amenable to any other astra.⁵³ The Rākṣasas, who followed Indrajit, were foolish enough to tie him down with ropes, which was the signal for the astra to get loosened, for Brahmāstra never required the help of other materials in its work, and if such help was sought, the astra simply became ineffective and did not operate.⁵⁴ This, Indrajit understood, while his followers did not. And since Hanumān was not under the controlling influence of the astra, it was easy for him to throw out the Rākṣasas finally and burn the city of Laṅkā.⁵⁵

In Vālmiki's division of the kāṇḍas, the Yuddhakāṇḍa begins as a continuation of Rāma and Hanumān in conversation with each other, the latter recounting to Rāma the message of Sītā⁵⁶ Rāma felt that he should honour the person who had worked wonders, had achieved the incredibly impossible event of reaching Laṅkā and meeting Sītādevī and of coming back with a message from her, after teaching a sound lesson to Rāvana. For, in one night, Hanumān had killed one fourth of the total forces of Rāvana. Rāma embraced Hanumān as a reward for the services rendered by him

52. *Agni*, IX, 18 इयेष पदमन्वेष्टु चारणाचरिते पथि ॥
★ * * शक जिच्च बवन्ध तम् ।
नागपाशेन पिङ्गाशं दर्शयामास रावणम् ॥

53. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V, xlvi-36-38
तत् पैतामहं दीर. सोऽस्त्रमस्त्रविदा वर ।
सदधे सुमहातेजा. तं हरिप्रवर प्रति ॥
अवध्योऽप्यभिति ज्ञात्वा तमस्त्रेणासनतत्त्ववित् ।
निजग्राह महावाहू माहतात्मजमिन्द्रजित् ।
तेन बद्धस्ततोऽस्त्रण राक्षसेन स वानर ।
अभवामिविषेष्टश्च पपात च महीतले ॥
सबद्धस्तेन चलेन विमक्तोऽस्त्रेण चीर्यवान् ।
अस्त्रवदन्य. स चान्य हिं न बन्धमनुवत्तेते ॥

54. *Vedānta Dēśika* states:
Brahmāstra refused to accept help from other weapons or materials.

55. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V, Sargas lui, iv.

56. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI, i

to Rama⁵⁷ In the language of philosophic significance, the union of the spirit with the Supreme is the final goal Rama as Paramātmā gave his embrace to Hanuman and made him as part of himself Vibhūṣana coming and surrendering himself to Rāma and the construction of the bridge across the ocean by Nala, on the advice of the Lord of the Ocean, form part of the Yuddhakānda⁵⁸ while the *Agnipurana* takes over the Sundarakānda to this point, beginning the next kanda with the message sent through Angada to Ravana, to surrender Sītā to Rāma

The next two kandas, Yuddha and Uttara, are summaries which run concurrently with the Valmīki Rāmāyana, of which the present account is a summary, for, the pratijñā of Agni at the beginning of the fifth chapter is that he will recount Rāmāyana as told by Vālmīki

In an attempt to summarise the salient points, occurring in a work of seven main divisions, running into 24 000 verses the *Agnipurana* had reduced the story to 179 verses In the larger scheme of the *Agnipurana* the first four chapters contain accounts upto the story of the avatara of Parasurāma and from the twelfth chapter, the story of the avatara of Krṣṇa is narrated In between the two comes the account of the Rāmāyana Chapter thirteen starts the story of the *Mahabharata* While brief account of the *Ramāyana* is eminently readable and contains the main events of the story some omissions have been noted as also some rearrangement of the material of the kāndas The last verse recommends the hearing of the original work, in full, for attaining Heaven⁵⁹

From the above discussion, it is amply clear, that the *Agnipurana* contains certain differences in the arrangement of the material in the kandas while essentially retaining the story and its chronology as found in the work of Valmīki It should be remembered

57 Ibid VI : vv 1-15 vv 12-15

अहं च रघुवशश्च लक्ष्मणश्च महावल ।
वैदेह्या ददानेनाद्य धमत परिरक्षिता ॥
इदं तु यम द्वीनस्य यनो भूय प्रकर्पति ।
यदि हास्य प्रियारथात् न कृमि सहर्षं प्रियम ॥
एष सर्वस्वभतस्तु परिष्वङ्गो हनुमत ।
यथा कालमिम प्राप्य दत्तश्चास्तु महात्मन ॥
इत्युक्त्वा प्रीतिहृष्टाङ्गो रामस्त परिपस्वज ॥
हनुमन्त भूतामान कृतकायमुपागतम् ॥

58 Agni xi : 1

रामोक्तश्चादगदो गत्वा रावण प्राह जानकी ।
दीपता राघवायाशु अन्यया त्वं भरिष्यसि ॥

59 Agni xii 14

सविस्तर य एतां शृणुथात्स दिव ब्रजेत् ।

to Rama⁵⁷ In the language of philosophic significance, the union of the spirit with the Supreme is the final goal. Rāma as Paramatma gave his embrace to Hanumān and made him as part of himself Vibhūṣana coming and surrendering himself to Rāma and the construction of the bridge across the ocean by Nala, on the advice of the Lord of the Ocean, form part of the Yuddhakāṇḍa⁵⁸ while the Agnipurāṇa takes over the Sundarakāṇḍa to this point, beginning the next kāṇḍa with the message sent through Angada to Ravana, to surrender Sita to Rāma

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57 Ibid, VI, 1 vv 1-15, vv 12-15

अह च रथवदाद्य लक्षणश्च महावल ।
वैदेह्या दर्शनेनाथ धर्मंतं परिरक्षिता ॥
इद तु मम दीनस्य मनो भूय प्रकर्षिति ।
यदि हास्य प्रियाश्यातु न कूर्मि सहशा प्रियम् ॥
एष तर्वंस्त्वं भूतस्तु परिपृष्ठं गो हनुमत ।
भया कालभिम प्राप्य दत्तश्चास्तु महात्मन ॥
इत्युक्त्वा ग्रीतिहृष्टाङ्गो रामस्त परिपृष्ठं ॥
हनुमन्त महात्मान कृतकार्यमुपागतम् ॥

58 Agni, xi, 1

रामोक्तश्चाङ्गदो गत्वा रावण प्राह जानकी ।
दीपता राघवायाश अन्यथा त्व मरिष्यसि ॥

59 Agni, xi, 14

सविस्तर य एतच्च श्रूयात्स दिव द्रगेत् ।

to Rāma⁵⁷ In the language of philosophic significance, the union of the spirit with the Supreme is the final goal. Rāma as Paramatmā gave his embrace to Hanuman and made him as part of himself Vibhūṣana coming and surrendering himself to Rāma and the construction of the bridge across the ocean by Nala, on the advice of the Lord of the Ocean, form part of the Yuddhakāṇḍa⁵⁸ while the Agnipurāṇa takes over the Sundarakāṇḍa to this point, beginning the next kāṇḍa with the message sent through Angada to Ravana, to surrender Sita to Rāma

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57 Ibid VI, 1 vv 1 15 vv 12-15

अहं च रथवदाश्च लक्ष्मणश्च भगवतः ।
वैदेह्या दर्शनेनाद्य धर्मतं परिरक्षिता ॥
इदं तु मम हीनस्य मनो भूय प्रकपेति ।
यदि हास्यं प्रियावृपातु न कृप्मि सहशं प्रियम् ॥
एष सर्वस्वमन्तस्तु परिष्वद्गो हनुमतः ।
मया कालमिम प्राप्य दत्तश्चास्तु भगवत्मनः ॥
इत्युक्त्वा प्रीतिहृष्टाङ्गो रामस्तु परिपत्वजे ॥
हनुमन्तं भगवत्मनं कृतकार्यमुपागतम् ॥

58 Agni xi, 1

रामोदत्तश्चाङ्गदो गत्वा रावणं प्राह जानको ।
दीयता राघवायाद् अन्यथा त्वं परिष्पति ॥

59 Agni xii, 14

सविस्तरं य एतच्च शृण्यात्स दिव व्रजेत् ।

to Rama⁵⁷ In the language of philosophic significance, the union of the spirit with the Supreme is the final goal. Rama as Paramatma gave his embrace to Hanuman and made him as part of himself Vibhūṣana coming and surrendering himself to Rama and the construction of the bridge across the ocean by Nala, on the advice of the Lord of the Ocean, form part of the Yuddhakāṇḍa⁵⁸ while the Agnipurāṇa takes over the Sundarakāṇḍa to this point, beginning the next kāṇḍa with the message sent through Angada to Ravana, to surrender Sītā to Rama

The next two kāṇḍas, Yuddha and Uttara, are summaries which run concurrently with the Vālmīki *Ramayana*, of which the present account is a summary, for, the *pratijñā* of Agni at the beginning of the fifth chapter is that he will recount *Rāmāyana* as told by Vālmīki

In an attempt to summarise the salient points, occurring in a work of seven main divisions, running into 24,000 verses the Agnipurāṇa had reduced the story to 179 verses In the larger scheme of the Agnipurāṇa the first four chapters contain accounts upto the story of the avatara of Parasurāma and from the twelfth chapter, the story of the avatara of Krṣṇa is narrated In between the two comes the account of the *Rāmāyana* Chapter thirteen starts the story of the *Mahabhrata* While brief account of the *Ramayana* is eminently readable and contains the main events of the story some omissions have been noted as also some rearrangement of the material of the kāṇḍas The last verse recommends the hearing of the original work, in full, for attaining Heaven⁵⁹

From the above discussion, it is amply clear, that the Agnipurāṇa contains certain differences in the arrangement of the material in the kāṇḍas while essentially retaining the story and its chronology as found in the work of Vālmīki It should be remembered

57 Ibid VI, 1 vv 1-15 vv 12-15

अह च रघुवशश्च लक्ष्मणश्च महाबल ।
देवदेह्या ददानेनाद्य धमत परिक्षिता ॥
इद तु मम दीनस्य मनो भूय प्रकर्पति ।
यदि हास्य प्रियाल्यातु न कुर्मि सदृश प्रियम् ॥
एष सवस्वभूतस्तु परिष्वङ्गो हनुमत ।
मया कालमिम प्राप्य दत्तदचास्तु महात्मन ॥
इत्युक्त्वा प्रीतिहृष्टाङ्गो रामस्तु परिपस्वजे ॥
हनुमन्त महात्मान कृतकार्यमुपागतम् ॥

58 Agni xi 1

रामोन्तश्चाङ्गदो गत्वा रावण ग्राह जातकौ ।
दीयता राघवायाशु अन्यया त्व भरिष्यसि ॥

59 Agni xii 14

सविस्तर य एतच्च शृणुयात्स दिव व्रजेत् ।

that the *pratijñā* at the beginning of the summary is to summarise the *Rāmayana* of Vālmīki. But the differences, which have been noted above, certainly do point out to some other version of Vālmīki *Rāmāyana*, than the southern recension, with which it has been compared, in this paper. The various additions of the southern recension do not exhibit any of these differences. But when the edition of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyana*, published by the V V R Institute, Hoshiarpur, is compared with the summary in the *Agnipurāna*, it is seen, that the arrangement of the kāndas closely follows that text. Two points emerge (i) The *Agnipurāna* version of the *Rāmāyana* does not follow the arrangement of the southern recension of that work (ii) The North-western recension of the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki, as published by the Hoshiarpur Institute, in its present form, is earlier than the *Agnipurāna* which contains the summary of that version.

THE NARRATIVE OF RĀMA IN THE JAIN TRADITION*

By

H C BHAYANI

Works based on the Jainistic versions of the narrative of Rama are numerous and extensive. They are spread over some seventeen centuries and encompass more than eight languages. Adequate study of this vast amount of material would demand extensive and intensive labours of several scholars. Even so, the work actually done so far in the subject is not inconsiderable. There have been several studies—some quite elaborate, others of a limited nature—dealing with the comparative-historical problems.¹ Keeping the requirements of the seminar in view the present account is intended to be more informative than critical, and is confined to the general and comparative-historical aspects of the subject. There was therefore little for me to do than to paraphrase the findings and conclusions already arrived at in the previous studies.

There is no one single Jain tradition of the Rama-story, uniform in all respects. We have to distinguish no less than three considerably different versions, with a few sub-versions or minor variants. One of the three main versions is a direct descendent of the Standard or Vālmīki version (VR), while the other two, even through deriving from the same, have undergone some basic alterations—one can rather say, 'transformations',—which make them characteristically distinct and peculiarly Jainistic.

The version we find in Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (VPc) is the earliest available Jain version, and most characteristic. It is in Prakrit and probably not later than third cent A D. Earlier than that there might have been current some *Samgraha-gathās*—traditional mnemonic verses—possibly stringing together the names of chief characters and cryptic references to main incidents of the Rāma story. Vimala's work seems to be the first full-fledged literary composition on this theme. The Jain canonical literature, though conversant with several episodes of the Kṛṣṇa-carita, lacks any explicit reference to any character or incident of the Rāma-

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¹ A short bibliographical note mentioning a few important contributions is appended at the end.

carita² The general outline and pattern of the narrative in VPc, with chief landmarks and their sequence, are basically the same as we find in VR Rāma's parentage, birth, marriage with Sītā and exile to the forest along with Laksmana and Sītā, Sītā's abduction by Ravana, Hanūmat's messengership, Rāma's alliance with Sugrīva, invasion of Lankā, Rāvana's defeat and death, scandal about Sītā and her rejection, birth of Lava and Kusa, Sītā's ordeal these are basic also in VPc. But the divergences too between VPc and VR are farreaching and quite numerous. One can compile a huge catalogue of them. But such a catalogue by itself would fail to convey the full significance of the divergences. The additions, omissions and alterations affected by Vimala (or any of his predecessor) in his source-narrative can be understood only if we relate them to the aims and objectives that motivated his effort. The concern of the Jain tradition was to prepare and provide for its followers a version of the quite popular and important Rāma-narrative, which would be acceptable as truly and authentically Jainistic. To achieve this end the overall frame, orientation and atmosphere of the Rāma-story of the Vedic-Brahmanic tradition was to be altered and replaced.

In its earlier form the Rāma-story may have been just a heroic legend, but in VR as preserved to us, it is already linked up with the Avatāra doctrine. The Rāma of the Bāla and Uttara Kāṇḍas is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Moreover there is a substantial admixture of Puranic myths and legends that are pervaded with Vedic-Brahmanic spirit and atmosphere. Rāmacarita, it is true, has not become integral with the Puranic tradition to the same extent as Kṛṣṇacarita. Even then its close kinship with the Puranas and the Mahābhārata is quite patent.

Jain Rāmayana too shares this Purānic character. Some of the works are actually designated as Purana (e.g. Padmapurāṇa, Rāmāyanapurāṇa). It has also some dynastic lists and legends and numerous side-episodes. But naturally the spirit and atmosphere are Jainistic. All the characters in VPc including Daśaratha, Janaka, Ravana, Sugrīva, Hanūmat and their families are devout Jainas. Jain ascetics loom large on the whole course of the narrative and throughout opportunities have been frequently provided for preaching principles of Jainism and inculcating Jain doctrines.

The Jain conception of the Supreme Divinity is basically different from the Vedic Brahmanic conception. Jainism has no place for a divine creator and Lord of the creation. Jain theology has no Supreme God presiding over the destinies of the Universe. The

² Only Samādīvīca, the fourth aṅga of the Jain Canon, mentions at Sutra 54 in a general way 24 Tīrthankaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevis and 9 Vasudevas.

highest state of being in Jainism is that of the Siddhas or Muktas. Siddhas have no dealings with the transmigratory world. Hence there is no scope in Jainism for the Avatāra doctrine, and the Jain Rama can be no more than an illustrious human hero. Further the Jainas too have worked up the Rāma-narrative into an overall mythological frame, which is of course different in spirit and atmosphere from the Vedic-Brahmanic frame. The Jain scheme of mythology and legendary Universal History is much more systematized and thoroughgoing. The mythological and hagiological literature of the Jainas has as its core works called *Mahāpurāṇa* and *Purāṇa*. A *Mahāpurāṇa* gives biographies of 63 Great Men, known as *Mahāpuruṣa*, *Uttama-puruṣa*, or *Śalakapuruṣa*. They comprise 24 Tīrthankaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevas, 9 Vasudevas and 9 Prativasudevas.³ Each aeon is characterized by the appearance of this fixed number of *Mahāpuruṣas*. In the current aeon appeared Tīrthankaras beginning with Rṣabha and ending with Vardhamāna Mahavira. The Tīrthankaras are human beings who have attained spiritual perfection (absolute knowledge) and who preach and teach the Right Path to all the living beings. So far as their function of establishing, upholding and spreading of Dharma, and counteracting Adharma is concerned, they correspond to the Avatars of Vedic Hinduism, though among themselves the Tīrthankaras have no connection. They are not manifestations of the same essence. In addition to the Tīrthankaras, there have appeared in the current aeon twelve Cakravartins or Universal Monarchs, beginning with Bharata and ending with Brahmadatta. The Cakravartins establish their sovereignty over all the six divisions of the Bharatavarsa through the power of their fourteen Ratnas (objects and agencies endowed with marvellous magic powers) and nine Treasures. Their worldly power, pomp, pleasures and glory are the highest among the earthly beings.

Vasudevas have half the status and power of the Cakravartins, so they are also called Ardhacakrins. In alliance with their elder brothers, Baladevas, they overpower and kill their opposites, the Prativasudevas and establish their sway over three divisions of Bharatavarsa, through the power of their seven Ratnas. In the current aeon there appeared nine sets of Vāsudeva, Baladeva and Prativasudeva. Rāma, Laksmana and Ravana made up the eighth set, while Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa and Jarasandha formed the ninth set. Baladevas are of gentle and sober temperament, while Vasudevas are violent and impetuous. So the former immediately or mediately attain liberation while the latter have to suffer in hell prior to

³ Sometime the Prativasudevas are excluded and the number of the *Mahāpuruṣas* is given as fiftyfour.

their liberation. Here too some semblance to the Avatāra doctrine is created by the cyclic character of the emergence of Baladevas, Visudevas and Prativāsudevas, though again they too have no connection among themselves.

Consistent with this conception, Rāma and Lakṣmana enjoy all the power and glory due to their status. Like any great monarch both of them are highly polygamous. Rāma, like all Baladevas, had eight thousand wives with Sītā, Prabhāvatī, Ratnībhā and Śrīdāma as the chief queens. Lakṣmana, like all Vāsudevas, had sixteen thousand.

The monkeys and monsters typified by Sugrīva, Hanūmat, Rāvaṇa and their followers are basically mythical elements of the original legend which underlay VR. From the familiar human world of the first two Kāṇḍas of VR, we suddenly enter quite a strange world of humanized beasts and monsters of the latter Kāṇḍas. These mythical elements did not fit in with the Jain view of the world which has a strong rationalistic strain. And from a common-sense point of view too, defeating of powerful man-eating monsters by crude beasts and mere humans was quite absurd, unless one conceived it on a purely mythical or divine plane. So the Jain tradition introduced numerous changes in the source-version to make it acceptable to rationality and commonsense, even at the unrealized cost of losing some of its imaginative and weird appeal. The Vānaras and Rākṣasas were turned by the Jainas into Vidyādhara. These latter were human beings that had acquired, through austerities and mortification, superhuman or magical powers, which enabled them to fly in the sky, to assume various forms, to create and use magic missiles etc etc. The Vidyādhara dynasty which flourished in the Vanara-dvīpa ('Monkey Island') and which adopted the monkey as a dynastic emblem was known as the Vānaras, while the Vidyādhara who established a kingdom in the Rākṣasa-dvīpa came to be known as Rākṣasas. Far from there being any beastliness or cannibalism about them, they were rather highly intelligent and developed humans. And the Jain tradition has systematically used this device to rationalize the Rāma story. Thus Sugrīva, Hanūmat and Rāvana are all Vidyādhara kings. As the crossing of the ocean was no problem for the Vidyādhara the incident of laying a bridge over the ocean finds no place in the Jain account. But instead we find there Samudra and Setu as two Vidyādhara Chiefs loyal to Rāvana and hostile to Rāma, ruling at Velandhara city in the midst of the ocean. They attack the forces of Rāma and Lakṣmana which were on their way to invading Lankā. They are defeated by Nala and Nila. Similarly Jainas found it unacceptable that Rāvana, even with all his power could overpower

Indra and other Lokapālas like Yama, Varuna etc Gods of Jain mythology are infinitely superior in power to any human, be he even a Vidyadhara So Indra, Yama, Varuna etc whom Rāvana is credited to have vanquished were according to the Jain tradition no more than just names of different Vidyadhara chiefs A powerful Vidyadhara King created all his paraphernalia in imitation of the celestial Indra, because he claimed the status of terrestrial Indra So he adopted the name Indra, called his elephant Airavata, designated his various feudatories as Yama, Varuna etc and so on It was this Vidyadhara king parading as Indra, and not the celestial one that was defeated along with his subordinates by Ravana

Most of the other traits too of Ravana are changed The Rāvana of VR is not a ten-headed monster of hideous appearance As a powerful Vidyadhara king he is endowed with most attractive physical and mental qualities His designations Dasamukha, Dasagriva etc are in fact to be taken metaphorically and not literally, and according to the Jain tradition there hangs a story about it As a child Ravana was precociously strong and adventurous Still just a newly-born babe, he once rolled out of his bed and caught hold of a wonder necklace The necklace, handed down in the family line since generations, was guarded by one thousand Nāgas and it could not be worn so far by any Vidyadhara king As the mother put the wonder necklace around the child's neck, there were produced nine reflections of his face in the nine gems of the necklace And hence he came to be called Dasamukha, etc

And it is on these very grounds that Vimala criticizes in Pc the orthodox version of the Rāma story He declares it to be falsified and full of absurdities on the following grounds How could Raksasas who were pious Jainas descended from noble Vidyādhara families and who possessed enormous power through their mastery of Vidyās, be killed by mere monkeys? Again it is height of absurdity to represent Rāvana, whose prowess was comparable to Indra's, as a blood drinking monster, or to describe Kumbhakarna, who was learned in all the Śastras, as sleeping continuously for six months unperturbed even if elephants pushed him and pots of oil were poured in his ears, and when awakened swallowing buffaloes, elephants human beings one and all that he could lay his hands on How again could Ravana be represented as conquering Indra who is powerful enough to uproot the whole of Jambūdvipa and to reduce his opponent to ashes at the mere thought of him It is also false to depict Rāma, who was highly pious, as killing a golden deer or as deceitfully killing Vālin for the sake of Sugriva and Tārā Further it runs counter to reason to believe that monkeys could

build a bridge over the ocean. The popular version of the Rāmacarita was thus according to Vimala full of absurdities, falsifications, misrepresentations and elements contrary to sense.

And this outlook has changed Rāvana from a sinful, wicked, tyrannical monster to a noble, pious and powerful Vidyādhara king, whose conduct had no other blemish except abducting Sītā.

Several other characters also have undergone a similar transformation. It is not any Mantharā-inspired intrigue which leads Kaikeyī to ask throne for Bharata and exile for Rāma. According to the VPc version, Bharata expressed a strong desire to renounce the world and become a monk in the footsteps of Dasaratha, and it was with a view to forestall this step of Bharata that Kaikeyī contrived to saddle him with the responsibility of kingship. As to Rama's exile to the forest, it was Rāma's voluntary decision, out of his love for Bharata.

So too the Valin of VPc is quite different from the Valin of VR. According to the Jain tradition Vālin was an exceptionally powerful Vidyādhara king, who humbled the pride of Rāvana in an encounter, and thereafter renounced the world. Practising austerities he attained liberation. It was another Vidyādhara called Sahasagatī who, enamoured of Tārā, assumed, through magic power, the form of Sugrīva, ousted the real Sugrīva and usurped his queen and kingdom. Rāma killed this phoney Sugrīva. This orientation absolves both Valin and Rāma from all guilt. Rāma has also nothing to do with killing Sambūka. According to VPc, Śambuka was a son of Rāvaṇa's sister Candranakha (same as the Sūrpanakhā of VR). He was practising austerities for acquiring the magic sword Sūryahāsa, when he was quite accidentally killed by Laksmana.

The few typical and basic alterations described above would suffice to give some idea of the general orientation of the Jain Rāmacarita. As to the spirit and atmosphere pervading the Jain versions, following points are easily noted. Omission of the typically Brahmanic episodes like the legends of Vasiṣṭha and Visvamitra, Agastya etc. addition of anti-Brahmanical legends pertaining to the origin of sacrifice and Rāvana's destruction of Marutta's sacrifice, addition of episodes implying devotion to and veneration for Jain religion interspersing the narrative with sermons of Jain monks, depicting numerous characters as devout Jaina, as renouncing the world and becoming Jain monks, as worshipping at Jain shrines and holy places, describing past and future births of the characters wherein functioning of the law of Karma is given Jainistic prominence, the emphasis throughout on the doctrine of Ahimsa—all these create a characteristically Jain atmosphere.

My observations so far have kept in view only Vimala's version of the Rāma-carita. It is the principal and most important Jain version and is followed generally and for the most part by the *Padmapurana* of Raviṣeṇa (678 AD) and *Trīṣaṣṭi-Salākā-puruṣa carita* of Hemacandra (1060-72 AD) in Sanskrit, *Paumacarī* of Svayambhu in Apabhramsa (9th cent AD), and *Kahavali* of Bhadresvara (11th or 12th cent AD) in Prakrit.

Another Jain version of the Rāma story is contained in the *Uttarapurana* of Gunabhadra (878 AD) in Sanskrit, which is followed by Puṣpadanta in his *Mahapurana* (965 AD) in Apabhramsa. The version found in the *Vasudevahīṇḍi* of Sanghadasa (c. 6th cent) is closest to Valmiki's and one found in the *Caupannamahapurisa-carīya* (868 AD) follows this with a few elements imported from the Vimala tradition. Obviously, the force of the popular tradition of Ramayana proved irresistible and overwhelming. Guṇabhadra's version is abbreviated, and in several points deviates from both Valmiki and Vimala. According to it Rama was a son of Dasaratha's queen Subalā and Lakṣmaṇa of Kaikeyī. Bharata and Satrughna were born of 'some other' queens. There is no reference to the difference or dispute as to who should succeed Dasaratha, nor to Rama's exile. Rama and Lakṣmaṇa once went to the earlier State Capital Vāranasī, when Ravaṇa, assuming the form of Rāma abducted Sītā from the city park. It was Narada who had incited him to this act by pointing out to him the fact that the most beautiful Sītā was given to Rāma and he (Ravaṇa) was totally ignored. We have here after Valmiki the incident of Marica assuming the form of golden deer. Like Vālmiki's version too, Ravaṇa has here a wicked, violent, voluptuous and oppressive character. Valin also is here moulded following Valmiki rather than Vimala. The Jain versions are divided with respect to Ravana's character. Some depict him as virtuous, some as wicked. These conflicting conceptions lie also at the basis of the wavering Jain tradition about the inclusion of Prativasudevas among the Salākāpuruṣas and the resulting total of fifty four or sixty three. Regarding Sītā's birth and origin too there are basic differences. In the VPc she is born to Janaka in a natural manner. But according to the *Vasudevahīṇḍi*, *Uttarapurana* etc Sītā was a daughter of Ravaṇa and Mandodari. She was abandoned because her birth portended destruction to whole of her family including Rāvana. She was found and reared by Janaka.

There are numerous other differences of details which it is not necessary here to touch upon or describe.

In concluding it may be observed that the differences found in the Jain versions have the same significance as those found in the Vedic Brahmanic versions. If a legend or narrative has to preserve

its living and inspiring appeal and influence over centuries, it has got to be dynamic and responsive to the changes in the ideals, tastes, norms of behaviour, mores and traditions of the people. Most of the numerous significant developments in the Rāma-narrative throughout the more than two thousand years of its existence would find adequate explanation in the sociological, religious, cultural and ethical changes extending over that period.

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SOME FOREIGN LOAN WORDS IN PUSPADANTA'S APABHRAMŚA

By
RATNA N SHRIYAN

We have briefly dealt with the concept and scope of the term Desi or Desya word in our article 'Some Onomatopoeias from Puṣpadanta's Mahapurāṇa'¹. Here, we shall consider from Puṣpadanta's Mahapurāṇa, a few words that according to our scheme come under the class of Foreign Loans. This class can be subdivided into (a) words of Dravidian origin and (b) words of Persian origin².

(a) Words of Dravidian Origin¹

1 AKKA- 16 25 12 mother'

[=mata (gl) the relevant passage is—"akkasamāṇa majjhū parapāṇainī" 'another man's wife is like a mother to me', cf akkā—bhagini—='sister' (D 1 6), = kuṭṭinī, dūti (Kumārapāla-pratibodha), =vesyamata- (Śringaramāñjari Katha) = 'sister' (KC) = "a mother (used contemptuously) (supposed to be a term of foreign origin)" MW, MW also notes the word in the Additions and Corrections in the sense of 'a procurer', quoted from Pañcatantra, cf M, Konkani ākka— 'an elder sister or

¹ Bharatiya Vidya Vol. XXIII, No 1 to 4 1963 pp 80-86

¹ For similar items in Hemacandra's Desinamamala see Dravidian Element in Prakrit" K. Amrita Row Indian Antiquary vol. XVI, pp 33-36 and Kanarese words in Desi Lexicons Upadhye A N ABORI vol XII pp 277-284

² The abbreviations and signs used in this article are as follows—

Bh.—Bhavisayattakatha of Dhanapala (Ed by Dalal and Gune) Br K.—Bṛhatkatha koṣa of Harīṣeṇa (ed by A N Upadhye) Chand—Chandonusasana of Hemacandra (ed by H. D. Velankar) CMC—Caupannamahapurisacaru of Śitaka (Prakrit Text Society edition) D—Desinamamala of Hemacandra (ed. by P V Ramanujaswami) G—Gujarati gl—gloss in manuscripts as noted by the editor of the text GS.—Gatha Saptasati H—Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar (ed by P L Vaidya) JC.—Jasaharacaru of Puṣpadanta (ed by P L Vaidya) J O L—Journal of Oriental Institute Baroda Kans—Kainshavaho of Ramapāṇivāda (ed by A N Upadhye) Kan—Kannada KC—Karakandacaru of Kanakamara (ed by H. Jain) Kon—Konkani L—Lexicons M—Marathi Mal—Malayalam MP—Mahapurāṇa of Puṣpadanta (ed. by P L Vaidya) MW—Monier Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary NC—Nāyakumaracaru of Puṣpadanta (ed by H. Jain) ND—Turner's Nepali Dictionary Pal—Paia-lacchinamamāla of Dhanapala (ed by Beccardas Doshi) PC—Paumacaru of Saṭṭambhu (ed by H C Bhayani) Pk—Prakrit. p p—past participle PSM—Sheth's Paṭasaddamahnāvō P V—Paumacaru of Vimalasuri Sam K—Samaracecakha or Haribhadra (ed. by M C Modi) Sk—Sanskrit Ta.—Tamil. Te—Telugu Tr.—Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar (ed by P L Vaidya) Tu—Tulu. Uṣa—Uṣaniruddha of Ramapāṇivāda (ed. by Rahurkar) Yt—Yasas-tīlakāmpu ✓—root. Double inverted commas (" ") are used for the quotations from the texts and single inverted commas (' ') for English rendering. The figures given against the word under discussion indicate the Sandhi, Kāraṇa and Īne respectively of the word in the text. The edition used is that of P L. Vaidya

any elderly female' The word is a Dravidian loan, cf Kan akka Ta akka, Te, Koḍagu, Tulu akke—'elder sister']

The context is not decisive Both meanings 'mother' and 'sister' would suit

2 ADDAA- 90 3 14 a mirror'

[=darpaṇa-(gl), Alsdorf notes abdaka- as the gloss on addaa-, the relevant passage is—"paḍibimbau addai diṭṭhau" 'the reflexion was seen in the mirror', cf addaa=darpana- 'a mirror' (D 1 14), the word amdaya- occurs in PC II at 41 17 5 where the editor has rendered it with darpaṇa- with a query, the relevant passage here is—"nam mahu-kamini kerau amdaū"—'as though a mirror for the lady in the form of earth', cf addaa- occurring in this very sense in Gāthā Saptasati and addāya- in Sam K and CMC (p 248, line 17), the relevant passage in CMC is—"tatha paloiyamekkammahasaravaram, addaya-mandalam pīva tiloyalacchie"—'There was seen a large lake, which was like a mirror of the Beauty of the three worlds' The word appears to have a Dravidian source, cf Te addamu—'mirror']

3 AMMĀ- 69 27 1 'mother'

[The relevant passage is—"so janai ammu asīṭṭhai"—O mother, he knows the untold matters', cf ammā=ambā, 'mother' (D 1 5), cf ammā- occurring in this very sense in JC (2 13 18, 3 11 4, 3 11 6), NC (3 6 16, 3 11 13) and Sam K The word seems to have a Dravidian source, cf Kan Ta amma Te, Mal ame—'mother']

4 AVVO 3 3 5, 89 10 13, AVVO AVVO 85 10 26 'an interjection—Oh mother'

[=he matah (gl at 3 3 5), cf avvā= janani, mother' (D 1 5), also cf avvo= sūcanā-duhkha-sambhāsanāparādha-vismayā-nanda-ādara-bhaya-kheda-visādapascattāpe—'a particle expressing indication, sorrow, conversation, offence, wonder, joy, respect, fear, pain, dejection, repentance' (D 1 51, H 2 204) cf avvo occurring in the above sense in NC The word appears to be a Kannada loan, cf Kan, Te avva= 'mother' Alsdorf also connects avvo occurring at 85 10 26 and 89 10 13 with 'mother' and compares Sk amba- and Te avva-, 'mother, grandmother' (vide Harivamsapurāṇa, Glossary)]

5 *OLAGG-* 'to serve, pay homage to, to be in attendance' olaggi(y)a-(pp) 6 5 5 23 12 4, 32 12 7, 45 12 8, 60 26 2, 62 14 4, 76 5 5, 83 16 6, 85 3 3, 92 4 14, 95 9 14, olaggahū (infinitive) 9 23 10

pot. For the derivation of the word see Kannada-English Dictionary, Kittel, F., Preface, p. 33, item no. 258. See *kulaa*-.]

9. **KUDUVA**— 4 10 10 (v. 1. *kuḍava*-) 'a stick for beating drums'. [=vādana-kāṣṭha-(gl.); the relevant passage is—"paḍahullau kuḍuve chittu tema, jhamdhotti dotti rau huyau jema"—'the drum was beaten by the stick in such a manner that a sound like "jhamdhottidotti" was emitted'; not recorded in PSM.; the word appears to be a Kannada loan; cf. Kan. *kuḍupa*= 'a stick etc for beating drums, striking the cords of the lute etc., a fiddle-stick'; and Kan. verb *kuḍu*= 'to beat, to give forth or emit a sound'.]

10. **KURARA**— 62 3 6 'a ram, a sheep'.
[=meṣa-(gl.); PSM. records *kurari*- in the sense of *meṣi*- quoting from Rambhā-mañjari; cf. *kurari*= *paśu* = 'an animal' (D. 2 40); cf. MW. *kurari*-(L)= 'a ewe'. The word seem to be of Dravidian origin; cf. Kan. *kurari*= 'an ewe, a sheep' and Kan., Tu. *kuri*, Ta., Mal. *kori*= 'sheep, ram' and Kan. *kuruba*= 'a shepherd'. The usual sense of *kurara*- in Sk. is 'osprey'. It is different from this *kurara*-.]

11. **KURULA**— 29 28 4 'a lock of hair'.
[=kuntala-(gl.); the relevant expression in the text is "kuruloliṇḍili"—'the row of dark blue locks of hair'; cf. *kurula*= *kuṭila-keśa*= 'curly hair' (D. 2 63); cf. *kurula*- occurring in this sense in JC. (4 2 12), Bh., Yt. etc.; cf. MW. *kurula* (L)= 'a curl or lock of hair (especially on the forehead)'; cf. M. *kuruṭi*, Koṇ. *kuraṭi*= 'hair curled, formed in ringlets'. The word seems to be of Dravidian origin; cf. Kan. *kurul*, Ta. *kural*, *kurul*, Mal. *kuruṭi*, Te. *kurulu*= 'a curl or lock of hair'; Kittel derives Sk. *kurala*, *kurula* from Dravidian *kuruṭi* (vide Kannada-English Dictionary, Preface, P. XVIII, item no. 10). Burrow also notes this word in the list given by him to illustrate the Dravidian loans. (See The Sanskrit Language, p. 382).]

12. **KULAA**— 43 9 1 'a water-jar'.
[=ghaṭa-(gl.); the relevant passage is—"surehi pahū ḡhavio kulaehi"—'the Lord was given a bath by gods with water-jars'. PSM. does not note it. See *kuḍa*-.]

13. **GOMDA**— 69 4 3 (v. 1. *goccha*- v. 1. *gomdi*-), 83 9 7 (v. 1. *guṇḍa* v. 1. *godi* v. 1. *gomde*-) 'a cluster or a bunch of blossoms'. [=samūha-(gl.); *gomda*- is not given in PSM.; D. 2 96 records *gocchā*-, *gomṭhi*-, *gomdi* and *gomji* in the sense of *mañjari* 'a cluster'; Trivikrama notes *gomdi* and *gomji* in the same sense at Tr. 3 4 4 and 3 4 6; cf. *gomda*- occurring at NC. 1 6 12 as a

variant of gomcha- in this very sense and gumda- in Lilāvai. The word seems to be of Dravidian origin, cf. Kan. gonde, gudi, Te, Mal. konde 'cluster, tuft, tassel']

14 **CATTUYA**—66 8 6, 83 3 4 'a wooden spoon, a ladle of wood'
 [The gloss at 83 3 4 gives caṭṭuka- which is a Sanskratisation of Pk caṭṭuya-. At 66 8 6 caṭṭuya-vihattha has been rendered by the gloss with 'caṭṭukareṇa vyakulah'. But the meaning 'ladle' fits the context and the rendering caṭṭukara seems to be a guess on the part of the commentator. Cf. caṭṭu= dāru-hasta-, 'a wooden spoon' (D 3 1), cattuya occurs in JC at 3 5 14 and is rendered with yṣṭi- by the editor¹, here also the meaning a ladle or 'a wooden spoon' suits the context, cf. also cattuya-phala- occurring in JC at 2 34 4 which is glossed as yaṣṭyagranihitā-llohamayankusa-. MW records caṭṭuka- in the sense of 'a wooden vessel for taking up any fluid' quoting from Hala, the word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf. Ta caṭṭua-, Mal. caṭṭuga-, Kan. sattuga-= 'a ladle of wood or of a coconut shell' (Kittel). Burrow & Emeneau also note Te caṭṭuvamu= 'iron ladle with flat round blade for taking rice from pot']

15 **CICCI**—3 14 11, 10 11 11, 43 5 19, 44 11 7, 78 15 9, 85 10 8, 88 14 9 'fire'

[=agnideva (gl), cf. cicci=hutasana= 'fire' (D 3 10), cf. cicci- occurring in this sense in JC (1 13 6, 3 3 16) and NC, the word seems to be of Dravidian origin, cf. Te ciccu, Kan. kiccu, Tu. kicci= 'fire']

16 **CURULLI**—32 16 14, 66 2 5, 86 1 3 'a flame'

[=jvālā (gl), cf. cuḍulī=ulka-, 'fire-brand' (D 3 15, Tr 3 4 72, 473, Pai 673), cf. M cuḍ, Kon. cūḍi= 'a torch of twigs or branches of the coconut tree'. The word curulli- seems to be of Dravidian origin, cf. kan, Te cuḍukku= 'excessive heat of fire' and curukolli= 'a burning fire-brand']

17 **CHANA**—57 10 11 'cow-dung'

[=gomaya-(gl), the relevant passage is—"piṇikku kamsathālli khāvāvīu chāṇahu"—the thief was made to eat cow-dung in a bronze plate, cf. chānam=gomayam= 'cow-dung' (D 3 34), cf. chāṇa = Śakṭi (PC II), cf. chagana= 'cow dung' (Supplement to J O I, Baroda, vol. X, no. 3, p. 136), cf. MW chagana= 'dried cow-dung' (Pañcadanḍacchatra prabandha), and chāgana-(L)= 'a fire of dried cow-dung', cf. G chāṇ-, M, Kon. sen= 'dung of a bull, cow or buffalo', the word seems to be of Dravidian origin, cf. Ta chāṇi= 'cow-dung']

¹ See Jyāharacariu Vaidya, P. L. Karanja, 1931 Glossary

18 *JHIMDU*—93 7 3 (v 1 *jhemdua-*), *JHIMDU(Y)A*— 83 4 3, 85 11 5(v 1. *jheḍua-*) 'a play ball'

[=kanduka-(gl) cf *jhemdua*= kanduka-, 'a ball' (D 3 59), cf. *jhemduya-* occurring in PC I, *jhimdua-* v 1 *jhemdua-* in PC II and *jhimduvaya* in PC III in the same sense Cf MW *jhanḍuka*-(L), *gēḍu* (L)= 'a ball to play with' cf G *jhimdvu*= 'green pod of the cotton plant' The word appears to be of Dravidian origin Cf Kan Ta Te Mal Tu *cemdu*= a play-ball' See *jhemdua-* below]

19 *JHEMDU(Y)A*— 1 16 10, 28 7 7, 35 12 1, 85 6 13 (v 1 *jhumdua-*) 'a play-ball'

[=kanduka-(gl) See *jhumdu-* above]

20 *DODDA*— 90 2 10 (v 1 *doda-*) 'huge', 'a term of ridicule for a Brahmin'

[=sthūla-(gl), cf PSM *dodda*-(D)= *jaghanya manusyajāti*, *doda*-(D)= *brahmaṇa-* and *dodmī*-(D)= *brahmaṇī*, cf Kan *dodda*= 'large, stout']

The word *dodda-* is a derisive term for a *brahmaṇa-* (*adharma-brahmaṇa-*) and here looking to the context, it refers to Nandana *brahmaṇa*, who spreads heretical doctrines running counter to the tenets of Jainism

It is quite likely that *dodda-* is of Kannada origin It is recorded in Pk literature, firstly in the sense of 'big or fat' and actually the gloss gives the meaning *sthūla* in our context

In Prakrit literature *dodda-* has also been used as a derisive term for *brāhmaṇas* It is quite likely that *dodda-* came to have this connotation with the Jainas from its popular use It is natural for the Jainas who believe in fasting, to refer to those *brāhmaṇas* or *purohitas* who would use their offices to fill their belly and fatten Cf the Gujarati usage of the word *tagdā-* Here in our context *dodda* is used more as a derisive term for *brahmaṇas* rather than in the sense of *sthūla-*

In PC II *dodda-* is used and rendered by the gloss as *hastadvayauddina-* and the editor has given it with a query The passage in PC II from 34 11 7 to 34 11 9 is to be of double meaning One meaning is complimentary and the other derogatory In that case, *dodda-* in the complimentary sense may mean something like 'carefully inspecting two cubits of road in front', as is wont with Jain monks, and in the derogatory sense it may have a reference to those Brahmanical *sanyāsins* who indulged in tasty food and fattened themselves In that case the word may be the same as MP *dodda-*

The word *ḍoddā-* occurs twice in CMC. On page 166, line 26, it occurs in a compound "ḍoddā-jāe"— 'in the tribe of ignorant brahmins' and on page 221, line 15 "ḍoddā" occurs in the sense of an idiotic or dull-witted brahmin'

The word *ḍoda-* occurs in Śilāṅka's commentary on *Sutra-kṛtanga* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition folio 234) and the quotation is— "Brahmanam ḍodamīti brūyat tatha vanujam kīraṭam iti"— 'a brahmin is called a "ḍoda" and a merchant "kīraṭa"'. This also shows that as 'kīraṭa' was a term of abuse or derision for a Bania, "ḍoda" was a similar term for a Brāhmaṇa

21 DOMBI- 83 5 9 'a woman of low caste of tumblers'

[Compare PSM *ḍomba-* (D)= 'an aboriginal tribe' and *dombī-laga* = *candala-*, cf *dumba* = *svapaca*= 'a man of very low caste' (D 4 11), cf *ḍomba* (D)=*candala jati visesa* (JC 2 17 4), cf *ḍumba*, *ḍomba-* in the same sense (Br K), cf MW *ḍoma*= 'a man of low caste' ('*Tantra-sāra*), cf M *domb-*= 'a low caste employed especially on the burial and burning grounds' and Hindi *ḍom-*= 'the sweeper class among Hindus'. The word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan *ḍomba*, Ta, Te, Mal *domme-*, *dombare-*= 'a caste of tumblers and merry-andrews']

22 NESARA- 1 11, 10 7 5, 37 13 1, 42 6 17, 47 7 2, 49 5 7, 53 6 3, 59 16 9, 61 1 31, 70 14 5, 80 3 3, 80 14 3, 80 17 12, 83 21 9 92 3 9, 92 21 9, 94 4 1, 94 18 4, 101 9 4 'the sun'

[= *surya*, *aditya-*, *bhāskara-* (gl), cf *nesara*= *ravi*= 'the sun' (D 4 44, Tr 3 4 72, 573), cf *nesara*= 'sun' (NC 4 6 1, 7 8 5, 9 1 6, 9 13 6) The editor of NC has not noted *nesara-* occurring at 4 6 1 and 9 1 6, but has rendered "dīna-nesara" occurring at 7 8 5 with *dīnesvara* (*sūrya-*)¹. Here also *nesara* (and not *dīna-nesara*) stands for *sūrya-*. The relevant passage here is— "dhariu kumareṇ sihauresaru ḷai vidappem khayadina-nesaru" 'The king of Simhapura was caught or captured by Kumara as though the sun of the day of deluge by Rahu' Tagare also connects *nesara-* with (di-) *nesvara-* (vide Historical Grammar of Apabhramsa, Index Verborum). The word is a Dravidian loan, cf Kan *nēsar*= 'the sun', Ta *ñāyer*= 'the sun the day-light']

23 TANHAYA- 54 14 11 'wet, moist'

[The relevant passage is— 'ari ruhira-toya-tanhaya tanu"—'one whose body was wet with the enemy's blood', cf *tannaya-*= *ardra* = 'wet' (D 5 2 Pai 531, Tr 2 1 77), cf *tannāya-* v 1 *tan haya*= *ārdra* (*Lilavai*) and *tannāa*= *ārdra* (GS), the word seems to be of Dravidian origin, cf Ta *tanni*= 'water', Kan *tanya*= 'cold']

1 See Nāyakumaracariu Jain H Karanya 1933 Glossary

24. **TAMDAA**- 16 22 8 'a group, a party, an assemblage'.

[=samūha-(gl.); the relevant expression is—"muṇitarīḍau"—'a group or party of sages'; this word is not recorded in PSM.; cf. tamḍava- (D)= samūha- (Bh. 9 12 1); cf. M. tāmḍā= 'a troop, a party'; the word appears to be of Dravidian origin; cf. Kan. tamḍā= 'a multitude, a crowd, a troop, a group, a party'.]

25. **TALAVARA**— 30 17 10, 30 18 10, 31 3 2, 31 11 1, 31 13 3, 69 6 4, 72 10 4, 82 10 2, 98 16 2, 98 18 11 'a town watchman, city guard'.

[Alsdorf notes koṭṭapāla- as the gloss on the word talavara- at 82 10 2; cf. PSM. talavara-= nagara-rakṣaka-, koṭavāla-; cf. talāra-= nagara-rakṣaka-, 'the city guard' (D. 5 3); Trivikrama gives talāra= purādhyakṣa- (Tr. 1 3 76); cf. talavara- occurring in this very sense in JC. (1 11 6, 2 29 1), PC. I, III, talāra- in PC. II, talera- in Bh. and talavarga-, talāra- and talāraka in Br. K.; cf. talāra-, talāraka- and talārakṣa-= 'a police officer' Supplement to J.O I, Baroda, vol. no. 4, p. 149); talārakṣa- is a Sankratisation of Prakrit talāra-; MW. records talārakṣa- in the sense of 'a body-guard'; cf. G. talāṭi= 'a village officer'. The word appears to be of Dravidian origin; cf. Kan. talavāra-, talāra, talāri, Ta. taleyāri, Te. talāri= 'a watchman, a beadle'. See talāra- below.]

26. **TALARA**- 31 6 5 'police superintendent of a town, a city guard'.

[Compare talāra- in JC. at 3 15 4 & 17 3. See note on talāra- by A. K. Majumdar in Bhāratiya Vidyā volume XVII- nos. 3 & 4 pp. 127- 129; see talavara- above.]

27. **THATTA**- 77 3 6 'a multitude, a throng, a troop'.

[The relevant passage is—"daramalai thoṭṭaduggohoṭṭa-thaṭṭa"—'destroys the troop of strong elephants'; cf. PSM. thaṭṭa-= samūha-, yūtha- quoted from Supāsanāhacarīa; cf. thaṭṭa-= samūha-. ghaṭā= 'row' (KC., Kāns /CMC. PC. I, PC. II, PC. III); cf. Hindi thaṭ or thaṭh, G. thaṭh-= 'a throng, a multitude' It appears from various occurrences that thaṭṭa- means 'a troop of elephants or horses assembled for martial purposes'; the word seems to be of Dravidian origin; cf. Kan. thaṭṭu-, taṭṭu and datṭu-= 'a mass, a multitude, a host, an army, a large number'; in Kannada also the word is used in similar context, e.g. "kudureya thaṭṭu"—'a troop of horses', "āneya thattu"—'a troop of elephants'.]

28. **PALLI**-20 23 4 'a house-lizard'.

[=viśvambhara- (gl.); the relevant passage is—"pallidehami-tahu ruhira-bimdu nivaḍiu"—'a drop of blood from the body

of the lizard fell down', the word is not traceable in PSM, for the word *visvambhara-* given in the gloss of MW—'a kind of scorpion or similar animal', the word being quotable from *Sus ruta* according to MW., *Desinamamalā* gives *vesambhara* at 7 77 in the sense of *gṛhagodhā-*= 'a small house-lizard', according to MW. *palli-* has a meaning 'a small house-lizard' from Lexicons only, the word is of Dravidian origin, cf *Kan palli*, *halli*, *Ta Te Mal Tu palli*= 'a small house-lizard, *Lacerta* gecko' Kittel compares the word with *Kan. pala*= 'a sound in imitation of the chirping of birds at dawn', *palumbu*= 'to lament' etc and states—"palli has got its name probably from its well-known sounds" (See Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, Preface, p XXI)]

29 *PASAMDI*— 9 7 1, 9 28 4, 28 3 8, 41 5 8, 59 3 6, 82 7 8, 96 7 10 'gold'

[=suvarna-, *kanaka-* (gl), cf *pasamdi*=*suvarna*= 'gold' (D 6 10, Tr 3 4 298), cf *pasamdi-* in the same sense occurring in PC III and *Lilāvai* The word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf *Te pasidī*= 'gold']

30 *PALIDDHAYA*— 12 9 2, 41 15 2 'a tiny banner', 'a kind of flag'

[Gloss renders it with *vamsa-vestita-patiāka-* at 12 9 2 and with *ksudra-dhvaja-* at 41 1 52, at 41 15 2 *paliddhaya* occurs along with *mahadhaya*, hence perhaps the commentator takes *pālidhaya* to mean *ksudra-dhvaja*= 'small flags' as contrasted with 'large flags', the word occurs in NC also at 9 23 7 along with *garudadhaya-* At JC 4 7 6 the word *pāraddhaya-* occurs with a variant reading 'pāladdhiya-' Looking to the context, it appears that the reading should be 'pāliddhaya-' Then the relevant passage would be—"pāliddhaya uppari parighulamtu"—'the tiny banners dangling above' This word is not traceable in PSM, in Kannada *pali-* is known in the sense of 'a banner', it is likely *pāliddhaya-* is 'a particular kind of banner' and the first part of the compound may be a loan word from Kannada This word appears to be a case of "translation compound" suggested by S K Chatterji in his paper on "Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan" (Proceedings and Transaction of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, 1933, pp 177-189)]

31 *PIMJANA*— 88 21 14 'a bow-shaped instrument used for cleaning cotton'

[Compare PSM *pimjana*= 'carding cotton', *Hemacandra* at D 7 63 renders *vihannam* with *pimjanam* 'a bow-shaped instru-

1 See Jasaharacariu Vaidya P L Karanja 1931, p 79

ment used for cleaning cotton', cf. piñjana- occurring in this very sense in Yt, cf. MW piñjā (L)= 'cotton' and piñjana (L)= 'a bow or a bow-shaped instrument used for cleaning cotton', cf M piñjne, G piñjvum= 'to card' The word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan piñji= 'a quantity or skein of cotton', Kan piñju, Te , Mal. piccu= 'to card cotton' and Kan piñjāra= 'a carder or comber of cotton']

32 **PILLAYA-** 61 11 12, 99 17 20 'young one (of a bird or smaller animals)'

[The gloss renders pāḍala-pillaya- with bala-hamsa-, hamsa-bala-, cf pillha= laghu pakṣi-rūpam= 'a young bird' (D 6 46), cf PSM pella- (D)= siśu, balaka-= 'an infant, a young one', and pilua- (D)= savaka-= 'a young of an animal', cf pilla-= 'young one of a bird or animal' (NC , KC), cf pilla- in the same sense in JC (3 13 17) and pella- at JC 4 18 6, the word occurs compounded with pāḍala- in all the occurrences of MP , JC and KC , while in NC it occurs as majjāraya-pillau, cf Hindi pilla-= 'a cub, a pup', cf M pillu-, Kan pilla, Te pille= 'smallness', Kan , Mal piñje, Ta , Te pillai= 'small or petty, a child, a young one of any animal' and Te pilla= 'a girl']

33 **PULLI-** 25 16 4, 27 9 2 'a tiger'

[=vyāghra- (gl), cf pulli-= vyāghra- 'a tiger', sumha-, 'a lion' (D 6 79), Trivikrama records pulli only in the sense of 'a tiger' (Tr 3 4 194), PSM notes one occurrence of the word in the sense of 'a lion' quoting from Supāsanāhacariya-, pulli- occurs in this sense in CMC and JC (2 27 3) The word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan puli, huli, Ta Te Mal Tu pili-= 'a tiger']

34 **POTTĀ-** 6 8 13 9 8 15, 36 10 9 'the belly, the stomach'

[Compare poṭṭa-= udaram, "the belly" (D 6 60), cf PSM poṭṭi= udara-pesi-, cf poṭṭa- occurring in this very sense in JC (3 7 1), CMC , Sam K , and poṭ- in KC , at JC 2 28 7 poṭṭulla-(poṭṭa-+ -ulla- suffix) v 1 peṭṭulla-peṭṭa+suffix -ulla-) is used in the derogatory sense of belly, that is to mean, 'this wretched belly', cf M pot, Kon poṭ= 'the stomach' See ND peṭ= 'belly, stomach' The word seems to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan poṭṭe, hoṭṭe, Te poṭṭa= 'the belly, the stomach']

35 **BOMDI-** 2 10 9, 11 25 5, 43 4 2, 50 10 9, 69 28 8, 30 13 13, the body'

[sarīram (gl), Hemacandra records in Desināmamāla at 6 99 bomdi in the sense of rūpa = 'form', sarīra-= 'body' and mu-kha-= 'face' and also records the opinion of an authority accord

ing to which in the last sense the form of the word is bomdam, Trivikrama records the word bomdi- in the sense of rupam and vacanam (Tr 3 4 72, 753), cf bumdi- = 'body' (Pai 97) The word appears to be of Dravidian origin cf Te pomdi- = 'body']

36 MISIYA- 11 24 11, 65 13 5 'the moustaches and the beard'
[=smasruh dañika, smasrukūrca- (gl), this word is not recorded in PSM, this word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan. Ta mise, Mal mise, Te misa= 'the moustaches' and Ta masir= 'the beard']

37 MURAVIA- 12 11 10 (v 1 sūravia-) 'boiled, heated'
[=utkalita-, tāpita- (gl), Vaidya has rendered it with kvathita, the relevant passage is—"mūraviu takku avicittiyai ghiu chadhiu"—leaving aside ghee, the absent-minded lady started boiling the butter milk', the word is not traceable in PSM It is likely that it is of Dravidian origin, cf Kan muruntu- = 'to cause to burn, to kindle' and Ta muñugu, Mal mur= 'to scorch in boiling' or 'frying']

38 MERA- 2 11 8, 7 1 13, 10 13 1, 13 10 25, 16 18 10, 71 7 11, 72 3 6 74 7 1, 76 2 1, 85 2 5, 87 13 11 (v 1 mera-) a 'limit, a boundary'
[maryāda (gl) cf merā- = maryādā- = 'boundary, limit' (D 6 113), cf merā- in the same sense in JC, NC, KC, cf mer- = avadhi, maryāda- (Jñānesvari), cf MW mera(L) = 'limit, boundary', the word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan mere, Te, Mal, Ta merai= 'boundary, limit' and Kan, Te, Mal, Ta muru- = 'to go beyond the proper limit']

39 MEHUNA- 33 10 6, 61 22 10, 69 18 5, 84 12 8, 90 9 4, 90 15 8, 98 2 13 'paternal aunt's son, maternal uncle's son, brother-in-law i.e husband's brother or wife's brother'
[=mātula-putra-, devara, vivaha vañchaka-(gl), cf mehuniā- = patnya bhaginī- = 'a wife's sister', mātulātmajā- = 'a maternal uncle's daughter', mehuniau pitrṣvaṣrsuta iti limgaparinamena vyākhyeyam= 'paternal aunt's son' (D 6 148), Trivikrama also records mehunia- = mātulātmaja-, syali (Tr 2 1 18), PSM records one occurrence of mehuniā- (D) in the sense of 'uncle's son' quoting from Brhatkalpabhaṣya, cf mehunaya- = syalaka (PC I), cf mehuniya- = matulātmaja- (PC III), cf M mevnā- = 'wife's brother', cf Kon mevno- = 'maternal uncle's son, paternal aunt's son', the word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf Kan Tu maiduna = 'paternal aunt's son, husband's brother, wife's brother']

40 SIPPIRA- 7 19 4, 54 8 5 'straw', husk'
[=palāla-(gl), cf sūmbira- and sippam= palāla= 'straw, husk' (D 8 28), PSM records sippira- (D) and sippira- (D) in the same

sense, cf. sippira- occurring in this very sense in JC (3 17 7), PC II & III, in JC it is glossed as palāla-. The word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf. Kan sippe- = 'the skin of fruits, the rind of sugarcane']

41 SONARI- 20 21 1 'a jackal'.

[=śṛgala-(gl), this word is not traceable in PSM, it is likely that this word is of Dravidian origin, cf. Kan Ta Mal, nari- = 'a jackal, a fox']

42 HUDUKKA- 3 20 4 a sort of drum'

[=vadya-viseṣa-(gl), PSM records huḍukka-(D) and hudukka (D) in the same sense, cf. hudukka and huḍukka occurring in PV, PC II and PC III, cf. MW hudukka (L) and huḍukka- = 'a kind of rattle or a small drum' and haḍhakka-(L)- = 'small hand drum, a rattle', the word appears to be of Dravidian origin, cf. Kan hudukka- = 'a small hour-glass shaped drum', and Ta uṭukku-, Mal utukka, Tu uḍuku-, Te uduka- = 'small drum']

(b) *Words of Persian Origin*

43 AMGUTTHALA(IYA)- 4 9 7, 31 13 13, 32 14 6, 32 23 13, 33 6 16, 57 9 12, 73 11 12, 73 25 7, 82 3 9, 88 23 8, 99 9 2 'a finger-ring'
[=mudṛikā (gl), cf. amgutthalam=amguliyam= 'a finger-ring' (D 1 31, Tr 3 4 72, 575), cf. amgutthalaya- in PC II and amgūtthaliya- in PC III in the same sense, cf. G, Hindi amgūthi, the word in its origin is a Persian loan. Later on it got popularly connected with Sk anguṣṭha-, Pk amgūṭṭha- = 'thumb', cf. Persian amguştarı = a finger-ring']

44 TIVILA- 4 11 3, 17 3 5 'a sort of musical instrument like tablā'
[This word is not recorded in PSM, cf. ṭivili- = vadya-viseṣa- (JC 2 20 3), cf. ṭivila- = 'sort of tabor' (PC II, PC III). Cf. tivila- = carma-vadya-viseṣa (Jñānesvari), the word appears to be very near to Arabic word tablā- = 'a kind of drum used as an accompaniment in singing to keep time']

45 PILU- 2 18 3, 4 4 11, 9 4 2, 9 25 12, 14 12 2, 15 6 13, 21 6 14, 29 8 1, 43 10 10, 52 26 5, 54 10 3, 58 7 7, 69 26 8, 71 1 8, 93 10 2, 95 14 12 'an elephant'

[=hastibāla, gajabala-, gaja-(gl), PSM records pilu in the sense of 'an elephant' quoting from Samarāiccakahā, cf. pilu in the same sense in NC and Yt, cf. MW pilu(L) = 'an elephant', the word appears to be of Persian origin, cf. Persian and Arabic phila-, Urdu pilu = 'elephant', see pilubala-]

46 PILUBĀLA- 4 18 3 'Indra's elephant Airāvata'

[=airāvata (gl), see pilu-]

HYMNS TO PŪSAN

(I 42, I 138, VI 53 58, X 26)

(Translated into English and briefly annotated)

By
S A UPADHYAYA

I 42

- 1 O Pūṣan go over the paths, cross over the evil, O son of deliverance! Go in front of us, O God!
- 2 O Pūṣan do drive away from the path that wicked inauspicious wolf who attacks us

[The details of the mythological aspect of Pūṣan are not discussed in notes as it is proposed to include them in an independent article]

I 42

- 1 (a) *tira* is to be construed with *sam* in Pada a and with *vī* in Pada b. This is an illustration of the poet's economy of words *anhhā vi tira*—cf *aya dhyād tuturyama ati anhhā* at 5 45 11d, *dvīsah anhhā na tarati* at 6 2 4d *dvīsah anhhās dūritā tarema* at 6 2 11b
- (b) Read *vī anho* for metre
vimuco napat also occurs at 6 55 1a Sayana explains the expression as *yalavimocanahetormeghasya putrah* (on 1 42 1) and as *vimukt prajapatih/ tasya putrah* / (on 6 55 1) Geldner translates the expression as *du Kind der Einkehr* (=O son of lodging) and at 6 55 1 as *Sohn des Ausspanns* (=Son of rest) *vimuc* (*vī/muc*) signifies 'unyoking' of the horses etc (cf 1 171 1d 1 177 4d 3 35 3c 5 62 1b 6 40 1d also 10 138 3a) after completing the journey *vimucā napat* means the son of unyoking i.e one who brings unyoking—rest—having overcome all difficulties and having achieved the goal. In a broader and metaphorical sense *vimuc* means deliverance from dangers and *vimucā napat* the son of deliverance i.e one who brings deliverance from dangers and difficulties Pūṣan therefore is described as removing the obstacles on the way cf *yah vrakah apa tam pathāh jahū in v 2ac apa paripanthānam sruteh aja in v 3ac sugā nah supāthā kṛnu in v 7b punah pūṣd pathiyam ya svastik at 10 59 7d For the association of the *√muc* with *anhas* cf 1 118 8c 2 28 6c 4 12 6c (=10 126 8c) 8 24 27a 10 97 15d etc also 1 24 13d 1 25 21ab 5 2 7c 7 88 7b 1 24 9d 8 18 12bc 10 73 11d Indra is called *anhomuc* at 10 63 9ab Pūṣan is called *vimocana*—deliverer at 8 4 15d 16b*
- (c) *Pūrah* apparently superfluous in view of *pra sakṣa* is used for emphasis cf *Indra pra thi pūrah* at 8 17 9a
- 2 (a) *vrka*—by indication refers to a robber or to a person who is merciless in his deeds like a wolf cf *araṇād martāh sanukāh vrakah* at 2 23 7b *jahū ni atrinam panim vrakah hi sah* at 6 51 14cd *janah vrkayuh* at 10 133 4bc, also 9 79 3b However at 7 68 8a Sayu who was helped by the Asvin's is called *vrka* also cf 6 13 5d *aghāh vrakah*—At 6 48 16c and 6 59 8b the enemies (*aryah*) are called *aghā*—at 7 104 2ab the heat (*tapus*) is called *aghā* at 9 24 7c 9 28 6c 9 61 19c Soma is called *aghāsasāhan*—
- (b) *duhseva-* (formed in contrast with *suseva-*) occurs only here and is more emphatic in connotation than *aseva-*
adidesati (a *√dis*) lit points out in abusive manner i.e attacks condemns hates cf 6 56 1a 9 52 4c 10 133 4b 10 134 2d cf *adis-(f)* 'accusation slanderous attack' at 8 60 12b 8 92 31a

3 From the road, drive far away that high-way robber, the thief who knows the crooked ways

4 Smash with (your) foot the tormenting (weapon) of the double-dealing slanderer whoever he may be

5 O skilful and wise Puşan, we select your that favour by which you had encouraged our Pitr-s

6 Now make the riches easy to win for us, O you possessed of all riches, O best wielder of the golden axe

7 Lead us beyond the enemies, make for us the good paths easily passable O Puşan, give (your) advice here

3 (a) *paripanthin-* is one who blocks (*pari*) the way in order to rob the travellers, cf 10 85 32a Also of *pathesṭha* which is generally used for inanimate objects as at 10 40 13d (*sthanum pathesṭham*) and at 5 50 3bc it is mentioned alongwith *dviṣ-* At 1 103 6c Indra is compared to a *sura paripanthin* and the Maruts to *apathi-* at 1 64 11b (also cf 5 52 10ab)

(b) *muṣivānam* occurs only here *huras cit-* *huras-* (*✓livr* to mislead) is "deceit crookedness imposture" cf also *huras-* At 9 98 11c Soma is described as driving away the *hurascitah*

4 (a) Read *tasi a* and *aghásansasya* for metre *dvayavīn* (*dvaya*) is one who resorts to double dealing i.e. 'deceitful' or one who serves two masters i.e. unfaithful insincere Cf *marcāyati* *dvayena* at 1 147 4 ab 5 3 7d also cf *dvayu-* at 8 18 14c 15c, 9 104 6c, 9 105 6c *Agni* (3 2 15a 3 29 5a), *Aditi* (8 18 6b), and the Sun (1 159 3d) are referred to as *dvayavīn-*, so also is the human worshipper (5 75 5cd 7 56 18d) The Vedic poet emphatically declares himself to be free from any sort of *dvaya* cf *nā aham yutūm sahāsa nā dvayena rām supam aruṣasya vṛṣṇah* at 5 12 2cd

(b) *aghásans-* is same as *duhsánsa-* at 2 23 10c In contrast the deities and the pious worshippers are called *susans-*, cf *agnih susansah* at 6 52 6d *tarunah susansah* at 7 35 6b *susansah yah ca dákṣate* at 7 16 6d also 2 23 10d

(c) *padd abhi tīṣṭha-* For similar expressions read *chindhi vāṇīrīnd pada* at 1 133 2c *nī kramih padd* at 1 51 6c *pada sphurat* at 1 84 8b *pada nī badhasva* at 8 64 2ab *tapuṣim* (*✓tap*) refers to the glowing i.e. tormenting weapon of the *dvayavīn* cf *tapuṣim hetim* at 3 30 17d 6 52 3d At 7 104 5c the weapons of Indra and Soma are called 'destructive by heat' cf *tapurvadhebhū* (*ayudhāh*) In view of *aghásansasya* in Pada b *tapuṣim* may be understood as referring to the 'speech' of the *dvayavīn-* However *padd abhi tīṣṭha* indicates 'weapon' rather than the 'speech' of the *dvayavīn* Sayana explains *tapuṣim* as *parasamtapakam* *deham*

5 (a) *dasra mantumah* in the context of Puşan also occurs at 6 56 4b also of *dasrā pusa* at 10 26 1c *pusānam dasmam* at v 10ac below also 1 138 4e At 6 58 4b he is called *dasma-varcas-* At 8 22 8a the enemy (*dásyū*) is called *amantu-*

6 (a) Puşan is *trivasaubhaga-* possessed of all riches hence the request *dhānanī susana kṛdhī* in c he is called *janasṛi-* at 6 55 6b *puruṣārū-* at 8 4 15b *pustimbhara-* at 4 3 7a and *visvāvedas-* at 1 89 6b At 1 157 3c the chariot of the Asvin s is called *visvāsaubhaga-*

(b) *Bṛhaspati* (7 97 7b) and the Marut s are called *hiranyavasi* The adjective has no special significance here

(c) cf the *tasu susanānāi* *santu* at 7 12 3c

7 (a) *sascataḥ* are those who cling behind us i.e. the enemies the pursuers cf 3 9 4b 7 97 4d Note the use of *asascāt-* having no pursuer or rival' at 7 67 9a

- 8 Lead (us) to the good meadow, (let there be) no new hindrance on (our) path O Pūṣan, give (your) advice here
- 9 Help (us), fill (us with gifts); grant (us riches), sharpen (us), fill (our) belly O Pusan, give (your) advice here
- 10 We do not blame Pūṣan, we praise (him) with (our) hymns
We pray to the wonder-worker for wealth

I 138

- 1 The greatness of the strong-born Pūṣan is glorified, the greatness of his strength never fails, his hymn (i.e. the hymn addressed to him) never becomes drowsy Seeking favour I praise him who has favours by his side and who is blissful The strong god has attracted (to himself) all the minds

(b) cf. *krnoti visva supatha sugani* at 6 64 1c, *suga nah karta supatha svastye* at 10 63 7d, *suga no visva supāthāni santu* at 7 62 6c, also 3 54 21a, 5 80 2b 1 25 12b, 1 94 9c 1 102 4c, 1 106 5a 2 23 7d, 3 30 10c 6 51 13c etc

(c) *kratum vidah*—For the use of \sqrt{vid} in the (secondary) sense of 'to give, to distribute' cf. *varavo vidat* at 9 68 9d *vida rayam* at 9 19 6c etc

- 8 (a) Cf 7 99 3ab
suyavasam refers to a path with abundant green grass i.e. easily trodable and pleasant path cf. *suyavasch na panthah* at 1 190 6a
(b) *navajvara* new fever cf. Oldenberg, H., Noten I, p. 43, i.e. 'new obstacle' It occurs only at this passage

(c) = 1 42 7c

- 9 (a) *sagdhī* \sqrt{sak} to give, supply *rayah* as the object, cf. *rayah sagdhī nah* at 2 2 12d, also 4 21 10c 1 81 2de, 6 31 4cde In view of *purdhī* and *prā yamsi*; translate *sagdhī* as 'help (us)', cf. 5 17 5d 8 3 12ac *purdhī*. Fill (with gifts or corn) cf. *rayah pārdhī* at 1 36 12a *varyasya purdhī* at 7 24 6a, *purdhī yāvasya kasina* at 8 78 10d, also 10 73 11c 8 95 4d
pra yamsi—cf. *prā yamsi* *brhatih isah* at 3 1 22c *pra yamsi rayāh* at 5 36 4c, also 8 27 4d

(b) *sishū*—cf. *nah rayah sishū* at 3 16 3a, *sishū raye asman* at 7 18 2d, also 1 81 7e, 3 24 5c

prasi udaram—fill (our) belly' i.e. 'give us abundant food' The request in this particular form from a worshipper to a deity is quite rare Quite often Indra is requested to fill his belly with Soma cf. *sarah nā prasi udaram sapitibhīh a somebhīh uru sphiram* at 8 1 23cd, also 8 2 1b, 1 30 3b At 8 78 7a the belly of Indra is described as 'filled with mental power' (*kratu*)

(c) = 1 42 7c 8c

- 10 (ab) *methamāsi* and *abhi grāmāsi* are used in contrast
(c) *dasmām*—Read notes on 5a above

I 138

- 1 (a) *prapra*—The repetition of *pra* is for emphasis Cf. *prāptra sansusam* at 6 48 1cd *prāptra vīvasatī* at 8 69 1ad, *prāptra srīvī* at 7 8 4ab etc *tūvijata*—cf. *pūṣā ásuroh* at 5 51 11c *pūṣanam iṛyam* at 6 54 8ab etc
- (c) *stotram asya na tandate*—Generally a god is requested not to be drowsy, cf. *mo sū brahmeva tandrayuh* at 8 92 30a *atandrasah yuvatayah* at 1 95 2b
- (e) *anti uti* At 6 56 6 Pusan is called *upa-vasu*, also cf. the expression *ánti-vāma* at 7 77 4a

2 For, I urge you forth, O Puşan, with (my) hymns, like a horse on his way so that you may banish away the obstacles, take us safely across them like a camel When I, a mortal, invite you, the benevolent god, for friendship, make our hymns glorious, make them glorious in battles

3 We, after having sent that newer hymn to you, request for that wealth, O Puşan, in your friendship, the reciters of praise, who are, indeed, (wise) with wisdom have enjoyed (enjoyments) through your favour—have enjoyed (enjoyments) through wisdom. O you who are widely sung, without being angry be quick (in helping us), in every battle, be quick

4 Without being angry and being liberal, be very helpful to us for the winning of this (gift)—we, who are longing for glory, O you who have goats as steeds May we turn you herewards,

2 (ab) is a relative clause, note the accent of *prá kṛnve*, *piparah* in Pada c is the principal verb

(a) *ajirām* (\sqrt{a}) refers to the 'agile' horse the use of the word indicates swiftness and agility, cf *badhate tāmāh ajirāh nā volha* at 6 64 3d For *ajirā-* in context of a horse cf 1 134 3b 3 35 2a 5 56 6c

(b) *mr̥dhah* (*mr̥dh*) are the battles i.e. dangers in general Geldner understands the word as meaning 'scorners'

(c) *uṣṭrah nā*—Just as a camel carries the burden (or persons) safely through desert so also Puşan is requested to carry safely the singers through dangers and difficulties.

(e) Read *mārti ah* for metre

sakhyāya—cf *na te sakhyam apahnuvē* at v 4 below, also cf *tāra aham soma rārāna sakhyē* *indo dividive* at 9 107 20 ab

(f) *angusān dyumñināh kṛdhī*—cf *dyumñi* stomach at 8 87 1a *dyumñāvad hr̥hma* at 3 29 15c etc

The Pada is short of one syllable Oldenberg (Noten I p 141) proposes to read *angusān* as 4 letters by reading *u*

(fg) cf 1 105 19ab

3 (a) *Sakhye*—cf v 2 above and 4 below Read *sakhi e* for metre

(b) Read *santah aśā* for metre

(c) Oldenberg (Noten I p 141) understands *nāviyasmī* *nīyutam* and *rayāh* (Acc plu) as the objects of *īmāhe* Geldner construes *rayāh* (Gen.) *nāvi yasīm* *nīyutam* as the object of *īmāhe* *nīyut* generally refers to either a 'hymn' or to 'a team of horses' Sayana understands *nīyutam* as denoting a number (i.e. a million), however *nīyut* as denoting a number is not used in the Rgveda

(c) *nāviyasmī* *nīyutam* i.e. newer hymn, cf *nāviyasmī* *gīram* at 8 95 5ab *sustutīm* *nāviyasmī* at 10 91 13a, *dhītīh* *nāviyāsi* at 8 12 10b also 6 18 13d 7 35 14b 7 59 4c etc

(f) *āhejāmānah*—cf *āhedata manasā d yātam* at 7 67 7c *āhelatā* *manasā* *āruṣīm a vāha* at 2 32 3a cf also 10 70 4c Read *āhejāmanorūpasma* (contracting *h* and ignoring the caesura) as Oldenberg (Noten I P 141) points out *sari* (\sqrt{s}) active energetic cf *sāki bhāva* at 1 51 8c

(g) cf 6 48 19

4 (a) *aja asva* Puşan is called *aja-asva* as he yokes goats to his chariot as steeds This is an exclusive epithet of Puşan cf 9 67 10 6 55 3b, 4a 6 58 2a also cf 6 57 3a 6 55 6a. Read *ajusu a* (also in Pada b) for metre

(b) *rariṇān* (perf part \sqrt{ra}) occurs only here The niggardly mortals are hated by the Vedic poet cf 1 147 4ab 7 56 19d etc

O wonder worker with (our) good hymns O Pusan, I do not value you as too little O glowing one I do not deny your friendship

VI 53

- 1 O lord of the paths like a chariot we have indeed yoked you for winning food and wisdom O Pusan
- 2 Lead us (O Puṣan) to manly wealth and to the brave and lovable householder whose gifts are ever extended (for us)
- 3 O glowing Puṣan urge even him who does not want to give (gifts) to giving (gifts) Soften down the mind of even a niggard
- 4 For winning food clear the paths and kill completely the obstructors O fierce one may our hymns be successful

(f) *aghriṇi*—is exclusively used of Pusan. The word may be derived from *a+ghar* cf *ghrīṇa* (6 15 5d) *ghrīṇi* (6 16 38a) *ghrīṇīvat* (10 176 3d). It suggests the burning vehemence of Pusan in dealing with the miserly persons cf 1 23 13b 14a 3 62 7a 6 48 16b 6 53 3a 8b 9b 6 55 1b 3a 7 40 6a 8 4 17b 18a 9 67 12a 10 17 5c. At 8 60 20a Agni is called *aghriṇi rāsi*

(f) *ati man*—to disregard to neglect to consider as of no value cf 1 170 3b 6 52 2a 10 91 2c etc

(g) cf *drīsh̄a wa te avṛkam astu sakhyam* at 6 48 18a also read notes on v 2e above

VI 53

- 1 (a) *pathasati* occurs only at this passage cf *pathaspāthah paripatim* at 6 49 8a. As a lord of the paths Pusan is requested to clear off the paths and make them safe and pleasant cf v 4ab below 1 42 2, 3 7 8 and 10 59 7d. Note *pathah* (gen) is unaccented as it forms a part of the vocative
 (b) For the association of Pusan and *vajasati* cf *asmakam puṣan svātva svātva manhiṣṭhā vajasataye* at 8 4 18cd also 6 57 1c
 (c) *dh̄ ye*—Read Upadhyaya S A Hymns to the Rbhus in the Rgveda in Bharatiya Vidyā Vol XXII Nos 1 4 1962 pp 63 79 notes on 1 111 4d. It is also possible to construe as *dh̄a je ayujmahi d̄i ye*—for our materialized vision Gonda J The Vision of the Vedic Poets The Hague 1963 p 86 also cf v 4c 10 3 62 8b 6 49 8d
- 2 (a) Read *nari am* for metre
 (a) *naryan̄ vas*—cf *naryan̄ bhojana* at 4 36 8b *nāryam* may also be construed with *īrāṇi* in view of 1 40 3c 6 23 4c 7 1 21d
 (b) *prayatadakṣinā*—One whose gifts are always extended ever liberal cf *prayatadakṣinām nāram* at 1 31 15a *nārah prayatadakṣināś* at 10 107 3c
 (c) cf 6 54 2 *ramam* (*✓īrāṇi*) lovable At 10 122 1b Agni is called *vāmam* *ati him*
- 3 The idea in this verse and in vs 5 6 and 7 below is that Puṣan should compel even the most niggardly persons to give gifts.
 (a) *agīrṇi* See notes on 1 138 4f
 (b) *danaya codaya*—A deity too is urged (*✓i eud*) to give gifts cf *indra i codaya dātare* at 9 75 5d *deśādm̄devam rādhāse codoyanti* at 7 79 5a also 8 99 4cd 10 141 5ab
 (c) cf vs 5 6 and 7 below
- 4 (a) *vi pathah cīmūlī* cf *vi nāh pathah svu taya cīyāntu* at 1 90 4ab also 4 37 7ab

5 With your goad, prick through the hearts of the niggardly persons, and then make them submissive to us

6 O Puşan, pierce well (the heart of Panı) with your goad, desire (for us) that which is dear to the heart of the Panı, and then make them submissive to us

7 O wise one, cut out and make into broken pieces the hearts of Panı s, and then make them submissive to us

8 O glowing Pusan, cut out and make (i e break) into pieces the heart of everyone with that hymn inspiring goad which you wield

9 O glowing one, we request the favour of that your goad which is having a tuft of cow's hide and which wins the cows

10 And in order that we may enjoy like heroes, make our prayer the winner of cows, the winner of horses and the winner of food

VI 54

1 O Puşan, lead us to a wise person who directs us in a straight forward way and who may say This only (is your lost property) "

(c) cf *dhīyam* *sadhantā* at 1 2 7c *sadhāyatam* *dhīyah* at 7 66 3c also 1 94 3a, 4c 2 3 8a 10 74 3c etc also *manmasadhana-* at 1 96 6b

5 (a) Read *panina* *am* for metre

(b) *ara* (✓*ar*) refers to a weapon having a sharp point (as indicated by the verb *pari tyndhi*) Sayana explains the word as *sukṣmalohagro dandah pratodah* It is thus a goad or an awl or a sharp needle *ara* is employed against the Panı-s who are compelled to give away their riches In v 8a below it is described as *brahmācodanīm* as it secures riches and thereby inspires hymns of Avestan *astrā* (✓*az* to drive)

(c) *kavi-* is also used of Puşan at v 7b below

7 (a) is repeated as v 8d below
ārikha—cut out completely ✓*rikh* occurs only at this passage
kikira (✓*kir* to scatter) *kruṇi*—scatter into pieces i e break into pieces cf Sayana *kīrmanī pṛyaś thilānu* *kikira* appears to be an onomatopoeic word cf *cisca* at 6 75 5b The idea is that Puşan should make the heart of the Panı-s soft

8 (a) *brahmācodana-* occurs only at this passage see notes on v 5b above Sayana explains as *brahmācodanīm* *brahmanah annasya pretayitram* *aram/*

(b) Read *bībhārṣī aghīrṇe* for metre

9 (a) *asṭrā* *go opasa* occurs only at this passage *Opasa* (*ava*+✓*pas* to bind—*avapasa*>*opasa*) means tuft or crest' cf 1 173 6d, 8 14 5c 9 71 1c *āstra* is used by Puşan for guarding the cows whereas *ara* (v 5 6 8) is used against the (human) enemies

(b) The *īṣṭā* of Puşan is called *pasusadhanī* at 6 58 2a Puşan is called *pasupā* also cf 4 57 7b

VI 54

1 (b) *anjasa anusasati*—guides us in a straightforward manner without any deceit i e shows us the correct path

(c) *idām* refers to the property found by the *vidvas-* referred to in Pada a *eva* indicates the definiteness of the knowledge of the *vidvas-* and of Puşan in the following verse

- 2 May we, indeed, be united with Pūṣan who directs (us) to the homes (of patrons) and who may say 'These alone (are the liberal patrons) "
- 3 The wheel (of the chariot) of Pūṣan does not break, the seat does not fall down, its rim does not totter
- 4 Pusan does not forget him who worships him with an offering being foremost he finds wealth
- 5 Pūṣan may go after our cows Pūṣan may protect (our) horses Pūṣan may give us food
- 6 O Pūṣan go after (1 e protect) the cows of the sacrificer who presses Sōṇa (for you) and also of us who are the singers (of your hymns)
- 7 Let no one (of the animals) perish, let no one (of the animals) suffer injury let no one (of the animals) fall down in a pit And come back (O Pūṣan) alongwith the uninjured (animals)
- 8 For wealth we request Pūṣan who listens (to us), who is active whose riches are never destroyed and who is the lord of riches
- 9 Being in your laws may we never suffer an injury, O Pūṣan We are your bards here
- 10 May Pūṣan from afar place all-around his right hand, may he send us back our lost (cattle)

- 2 (b) *grhan* refers to the homes of rich and liberal patrons cf 6 53 2 or as Sayana points out, to the homes wherein the stolen animals are hidden
- 3 The Mantra describes the chariot of Pūṣan which is quite strong to traverse on the path beset with obstacles.
(b) *kosa-* is a box used as a seat by the driver For the smooth running of the chariot it is necessary that the driver should have a firmly fixed seat Read *āra padyata* for metre
- 4 (b) *nā mṛṣyate*—does not forget' cf *na te bhojasya sakhyām mṛṣanta* at 7 18 21c
- 5 (a) Read *ānu etu* for metre
(b) Read *rakṣatu svātah* for metre
- 7 (ab) *ma kis* and *ma kim* are emphatic prohibitive particles meaning no one not any one cf *makih tokasya risat* at 8 67 11c also cf *nākis nākīḥ īndra tvād uttarah* at 4 30 1a
(b) *kevata* occurs only here It refers to a pit (Geldner Grube=ditch) or as Sayana points out to a well
(a) *śrītāntam* refers to one who listens to our calls or hymns cf 1 34 12c 1 54 2b 1 74 1c 8 43 23b 10 122 4c etc.
- 8 (b) *anastavedasam* occurs only at this passage
īrya (īras)—active cf *īryah gopāḥ* at 7 13 3b also 8 41 4e
(c) *rayah* is to be construed with both *īsanam* and *īmāhe* This is an illustration of the poet's economy of words cf also *rayah sakhayam īmāhe* at 6 55 2c For the expression cf 8 26 22b 8 46 6c 8 53 1d also *īsanam* *vasunqm* at 7 7 7b
- 9 (a) *tata vrate* i.e while we are in your service
(c) v 6c above
- 10 (a) Read *parasta* at for metre
(c) *naṣṭam*—Supply *naṣṭam* cf 1 23 13c 14

VI. 55

1. O son of deliverance, come; O glowing one, let us come together. Be the leader of our sacrifice
2. For riches we request (Pūṣan) the best leader, matted-haired one, the lord of great bounty and the friend of riches
3. O glowing one, O you who have goats as (your) steeds, you are a stream of riches, a heap of wealth and a friend of everyone who composes a hymn
4. Let us, indeed, praise the mighty Pūṣan who yokes goats as (his) steeds and who is called the lover of his sister.
5. I have spoken to (Pūṣan) the wooer of (his) mother; may (Pūṣan) the lover of (his) sister listen to us. The brother of Indra is my friend.

VI. 55

1. (a) *tām* with this accent occurs only here. Is it the contracted form of *avam*? *vimucah napāt*—Read notes on 1.42.1b above
 (b) *aghṛṇī*—Read notes on 1.138 4f above.
 (c) *rathīn-is* 'the lord of the chariot' i.e. the leader. For the expression *rathīh rtāsyā* cf. 3.2.8c; 4.10.2c; also *rtas-pati* at 8 26 21c; also 6 51.9a; 8.19.35d. In the next verse, Pūṣan is called *rathītama*.
 (a) *rathītama*—For a symbolic interpretation of Pūṣan's chariot read Kramrisch, Stella, Pūṣan, Journal of the American Oriental Society vol 81, No 2, April-June 1961, p 105ff.
2. (a) *kapardīn* cf. 9.67.11a. Rudra too is so called at 1 114 1a, 5a; also 7 83 8c, 7 33 1a.
 (b) *isanam radhasah*—This explains or rather justifies *rāyāh imāhe*, read: *tvām hi radhaspate rādhasah mahāh śādyasya āśi vīdhatah* at 8 61 14ab; also 5.86.4c, 7.76.7a
 (c) See notes on 6.54.8c above; also cf. v. 5c below
3. (a) Read *dharāśi āghṛne.. ajaśu.a* for metre.
rāyāh dhāra.. vasoḥ rasih—cf. v. 2bc above; also cf. *rāyāh avānūḥ* at 1.4 10a; 8 32 13a; *rasoh akārāḥ* at 3 51 3a; 5 34 4d, 8 33.5c,.. *ūtsam ud vāsunāḥ* at 2 16.7d, *vāsvah rāśi* at 4.20 8d
 (a) For *aghṛṇī*—read notes on 1 138 4f above
 (c) Pūṣan is called *dhiyam-jñītā* at 1.89.5b; 6 58 2b; also *dhi-jātāna*— at 9.88 3d; also 1.138.4g. *dhitatodhīratah*—'of every devout man'—Atkins, S.D., Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda, Princeton, 1941, p 66. 'of every inspired poet'—Gonda, J., The Vision of the Vedic Poets, The Hague, 1963, p 222
4. (a) Read *nu ajaśu.am* for metre.
aja-asta—Read notes on 1 138.4a above.
 (d) Read *stāsuri-ah* for metre.
 (c) *stāsūrī*—refers to the Uṣas. Agni is the brother of Uṣas; cf. 3 31.1, 2. Pūṣan, in the form of Agni is the brother of Uṣas. Sūrya is the lover of Uṣas; cf. 1 69 1; 7.10.1; and 1.115.2, 7.75.5. Pūṣan, in the form of Sūrya is the lover of Uṣas. Thus Pūṣan is 'the lover of his sister'. For the expression cf. 10 3.3b
5. (a) *mātūḥ dīdh sūm*—Sūrya is the mother of Pūṣan; cf. 10.85.14d; 6 58 4c. Pūṣan wooed Sūryā but later on allowed Aśvins to be chosen by Sūryā; cf. 10.85.14. Pūṣan, in the form of Agni can also be called 'the wooer of his mother' viz. 'The Night or the Uṣas'; cf. 1 96 5, 7 78 3cd etc.
 (b) Read notes on v. 4c above.

6 Carrying (him) in (his own) chariot may the firm footed goats
bring Pusan the god who adorns men

VI 56

- 1 He who hates this Pusan as eater of gruel—by that (slanderous remark) the god is not censured
- 2 And the best chariot fighter Indra the true lord (i.e. commander) indeed kills the enemies with (Pusan as) friend and companion
- 3 And the best leader has sent down the golden wheel of the Sun to the western horizon (with Pusan—his friend and companion)
- 4 O wise wonder worker O you who are praised by many since to-day we speak to (i.e. praise) you so fulfil well our prayer
- 5 For winning lead to success this our band which is seeking cows O Puṣan you are known even from a distance

6 (a) Cf 6 57 3a
 (b) *nirmbha* (*nir/srambh*) walking firmly i.e. firm footed this is the only occurrence of the word in the RV
 (c) *janasrī*—one who decorates people occurs only in this passage for similar expressions cf. *agnasrī* at 3 26 5a *adhvarasrī* at 1 47 8a 10 78 7a *ganasrī* at 8 23 4c *yajnasrī* at 1 4 7b *kṣatrasrī* at 1 25 5a

VI. 56

- 1 (a) *adidesat*—See notes on 1 42 2b above
 (b) Though Puṣan eats gruel he is not weak. His strength is referred to in the next two Mantras. Similarly at 7 100 6 the poet points out that though Indra is called *sivista* he is not at all condemned for he is not really weak as the name *sivista*—indicates. For the association of Puṣan with Karambha cf. 3 52 7a 6 57 2c the Soma drink of Indra is also described as *karambha*—at 3 52 1a 8 91 2d. Sayana understands *adidesat* as *abhustuti* and explains the Mantra thus—He who praises Puṣan as the eater of gruel is not required to praise any other deity for Puṣan fulfills all his desires.
- 2 For the association of Puṣan and Indra read vs 3 the next hymn is addressed to Indra and Puṣan jointly
 (a) *rathitamah* cf. 1 11 1c Puṣan too is so called at 6 55 2a
 (b) Read *sakhi* a for metre
 (c) = 8 17 8c
- 3 (a) *paruse gari* refers to the western direction as indicated by *na a-rayat* sent down i.e. made to set
 (b) Read *ni a rayat* for metre
 (c) *rathitamah* refers to Indra as in v 2a above Supply *sākhyā yujā* from the preceding Mantra to complete the sense. Sayana, however, understands *rathitamah* as referring to Puṣan, who urges on the golden (*sūrah*) wheel (*cakram*) of his car for the radiant sun (*paruse gāvī*)
- 4 (b) *daśa mantumah*—Read notes on 1 42 5a above
- 4 (c) *máṇma sadhaya*—cf. 1 138 2f 6 53 4c Agni is called *manmasadhana* at 1 96 5b. In view of *stomam pra brāhma* (3 54 10a) *brāhma uktha* (6 67 10c) etc. *máṇma* may be construed as the second object of *brāhma* and also with the pronouns *yāt tāt*
- 5 (a) *gavēṣana*. Elsewhere Indra and his chariot are described as *gavēṣana* cf. 7 20 5d 1 132 3f 7 23 3a etc. At 6 53 10a dh. is called *go sāṇi*—also cf. *stotri me gāyakha syat* at 8 14 1c
 (b) *gand* refers to the band of singers as at 5 44 12d 6 40 1c

6. We beg of you the welfare which keeps dangers far away and which brings riches for an all-round prosperity to-day and to-morrow.

VI. 57

6

1. Let us, indeed, call upon Indra and Pūṣān for friendship, welfare and for winning food.
2. One of them has sat near the pressed-out Soma in the two jars for drinking; the other one longs for gruel.
3. Goats are the carriers of one; of the other are the two well-nourished bay horses with which he kills the enemies.
4. When the most strong Indra led the great released waters, Pūṣān was the companion there.
5. We cling closely to that favour of Pūṣān and Indra as to a branch of a tree.
6. For welfare, we pull (to ourselves) Pūṣān and Indra as a charioteer, the reins.

6. (a) Read *su-nasti* for metre.

(b) At 6.1 12c the *īṣ-* (i.e. the food-stores) given by Agni are called *aré-aghā-*.
úpa-rasum (*úpā=úpa*) Soma is called *úpa-vasu-* at 9.84 3b; 9.86 33d.

(c) For a note on the suffix *-tat* and *-tāt* read *Upadhyaya*, S.A., *Hymns to the Rbhus in the Rgveda, Bhāratīya Vidyā*, vol. XXII, Nos. 1 to 4, 1962, pp. 63-79, notes on 7.48 3b.

VI. 57

1. For the association of Indra and Pūṣān cf. 6.56.2, 3, also 8.4.15-18.
 (b) *sakhyāya huvéma-* cf. *huve sakhyaya* at 1.138 2de; *ná te sakhyám apahnuvé* at 1.138.4g; *dhivatodhivatah sakha* at 6.55 3b, *bhrātā Indrasya sákha máma* at 6.55.5c; *viprasya yavayatsakhāh* at 10.26 5d; also read notes on 1.138.2e above.
 Read *sakhi aya su astaye* for metre.
saastāye hulema- cf. 6.56.6a above.
- (c) *vájasataye huvéma*—Read notes on 6.53.1b above
2. (a) *anyáh* i.e. Indra.
 (b) Read *camu.oh* for metre *camú-* is a vessel in which pressed out Soma-juice is kept; cf. 4.18 3d; 3.48.4d.
 (c) Read notes on 6.56 1b above.
3. (a) Read notes on 1.138 4b above.
 (a) *sámbhṛta* (*sam-bhṛta* + *bhr*) 'well-nourished'. cf. *sárupaih ā sú nah gahi sámbhṛtaih sámbhṛtāstah* at 8.34.12ab; Indra is called *sámbhṛtakratu-* at 1.52.8a.
4. cf. 6.56.2, 3.
 (a) *ritah* (Fem. Acc. Plu.) < *ri* > \sqrt{ri} 'to let free, to release, to let flow in streams', cf. 1.56.6c; 2.22 4b etc.
 (b) *vṛṣantamah-* cf. 1.10.10ac; also *vṛṣaparvati-* *indra-* at 3.36 2b.
6. (a) *ut+ yu* 'to pull up.' Just as a charioteer pulls up the *reins* of the horses to keep them near him (and to restrain them from going astray) and thus reaches the goal similarly the poet draws near him both Pūṣān and Indra for securing welfare.

VI 58

- 1 The day and night of different forms—one the bright one and other the holy one—are your (forms), you are like Dyu for you favour all mystic powers May your auspicious gift be here, O self-willed Puṣan
- 2 Observing the worlds and bending the loose goad, Puṣan, the god, the guardian of animals, whose home is full of gifts, who is an inspirer of hymns and who is placed over the whole creation goes forward
- 3 With those golden ships which move inside the ocean and in the mid-region, O Puṣan impelled by love, you accept the duties of a messenger of Surya being impelled by love and desiring glory
- 4 Puṣan is the good relative of heaven and earth, he is the lord of sacrificial food, he is liberal, he is of wonderful appearance, him—the strong one, having graceful gait and who was impelled by love—the gods gave to Suryā.

VI 58

- 1 (a) The two forms referred to are day and night as Sayana points out; also cf 6 9 1a
 (b) *visurupe ahanī*—cf 1 123 7b, also 1 186 4d
 (c) *maya* when associated with gods means mystic powers cf 3 61 7c 1 11 7a etc
 (d) *bhadra rath* cf 1 132 2g, 1 168 7c 6 45 32b 8 19 19b 8 62 1ff, 8 99 4b
- 2 Head *ajara* a and *tajapasti* o for metre
 (a) *aja astra*—Read notes on 1 138 4b above
pasu pah—One of the main functions of Puṣan is to guard the cattle, cf 6 54 1 5a 6a 7 At 6 53 9ab the *astra* of Puṣan is called *pasudhāna*—
 (b) cf 2 40 5b, also 3 62 9
 (c) *astram sithram*—The goad is loose i.e. is held in the hands and is not kept or shielded somewhere
utvarṇyat—bending i.e. turning upwards i.e. moving the *astra* here and there to guard the cattle
- 3 (a) The association of *naśa* with Puṣan is rather strange It probably, refers to the imaginary ships.
 (b) At 1 42 6b Puṣan is called *hūṇyāstastimatama*
 (c) Surya had started the *ayagamvara* of his daughter Sūrya also read 10 85 6-15 Read *duti am* and *ṣuri arya* for metre
 (d) *kamena kṛta* (voc) is to be construed both as vocative and nominative cf v 4d below
- 4 (cd) Read *ṣuri ayai* and *su ancam* for metre
 (b) *maghāra*—cf *pupanam puruṣādum* at 8 4 15b also 8 4 18d, 1 42 6
jasma arcaḥ—Read notes on 1 42 5a above

X. 26

- 1 Because (our) hymns, the enviable Niyut-s run towards (them), may both the wonder-workers,—(Vāyu) who yokes Niyut-s to the chariot and Pūṣan, the great one,—protect (them i e the hymns)
- 2 With prayers let this man, the singer win him to whom belongs that great greatness He has appreciated (his) good hymns
- 3 Like Indu, he, the mighty Pūṣan, appreciates the good hymns He sprinkles (our) psura-s, he sprinkles our cow-stall
- 4 We glorify you, O God Pūṣan, the accomplisher of (our) hymns, who makes the poet-priests to shake (with emotion)
- 5 (We glorify Pūṣan) who is the co-sharer of sacrifices, who is the impeller of the horses of the chariots, who is the sage, who is established by Manu and who is the poet's friend who removes (obstacles)

X. 26

The metrical composition of this hymn is not satisfactory. Many Pada's are short of either one or two syllables. Read Oldenberg Noten, II, p 225

- 1 (ab) Hymns are compared to the enviable Niyut-s as both bring the gods to the desired place cf. *niyutah sparhāvīrāt* at 7 91 5a
p'a yanti 'goes fast i e run with all eagerness
 (cd) is difficult to construe *dasrā* is Nom. Plu *niyut-rathah* refers to Vayu, cf 1 135 1bc 2 41 1c, 2a etc *avishu* is sing probably influenced by *psud* Vayu is not known as *dasrā* *dasrā* may be construed as Acc Plu referring to the Asvin's translate may the great Pūṣan who has yoked Niyut-s to the chariot favour the two wonder workers (i e the Asvin's) The reference here is to the Pūṣan's favour to the Asvin's in allowing them to be chosen by Surya cf 10 85 9b Pada's ab form a subordinate sentence (note *hi* and *pra yanti*) hence construe *manīṣāḥ* as the object of *avishu*, cf *avantu manīṣām* at 10 77 8c
- 2 (ab) *vatā*—that i e well known In a secondary sense *vatāpya* means great' cf *vatāpyam rayim* at 9 93 5ab Generally *vatāpyam* (*vata apya<api*) refers to the Soma which is fermented by wind cf 1 121 8d 1 187 8c etc The association of Soma and Pūṣan is not so striking, hence construe *vatāpya* in the secondary sense
 (c) *cuketa*—Pūṣan is the subject
- 3 (c) *psurah* (Acc plu) (<*psu psa*> *bhas* food) nourishment' the idea is Pūṣan sprinkles our nourishment (with strength) i e he makes us strong and vigorous Pūṣan is called *psūṣīm bharā* at 4 3 7a *psūṣīnam sakha* in v 7b below Or, *psurah* (<*psu* appearance' *psu=bhsu* from *bhasu* √ *bhas*?) 'appearance, form the idea is Pūṣan sprinkles our appearance (with loveliness) i e he makes us beautiful, cf *aruna psu-* at 8 72 16a. Sayana construes *psurah* as nom. and as referring to Pūṣan. Geldner does not translate the word *psurah*. It is difficult to associate *psūr* with *psar psaras*
- 4 (c) *matinam sadhanam*—At 1 96 6b Agni is called *manmasadhanā* cf *sisadhāt* *matīm* at 2 24 1d, *nah manma sadhaya* at 6 56 4c, *sadhāya dhīyāt* at 1 94 3a etc
 (d) *adharām* <*a* + √*dhv* *upranam adharām*—Pūṣan is called *dhīyamjñināt* at 1 89 55 6 58 2b
- 5 (a) *prati-ardhi*, *ardhi* is one who shares half *prati-ardhi*— is the co-sharer At 10 1 5c Agni is described as *pratyārdhūm devāryadevasyā* Here Pūṣan and Soma are referred to as *prati-ardhi*
 (c) *manurhītah*—established by Manu i e made famous by Manu
 (d) *vatāyatekhhā* is a friend who separates (√*yu*) i e removes obstacles cf *satruram prthakkarī*—Sayana cf vi *asmed dīsesh yuvara vi enhāt* at 6 44 16' also 6 59 2d 2 29 2a *stamād vatāyantu* at 8 48 5d

6. (Pūṣan) who is the lord of the longing ones, of the pure (female animals) and of the pure (male animals), who weaves the garment for sheep and who cleanses the garments,
7. (Pūṣan) who is the powreful lord of food, the powerful friend of nourishment, the beloved one and who cannot be deceived, shakes, with ease, his beard, to and fro.
8. O Pūṣan, may the goats turn hereward the yoke of your chariot. You are the old and unwavering friend of everyone who has a desire
9. May the mighty Pūṣan favour our chariot with vigour; may he be the increaser of food, may he listen to this our call.

6 (a) *ādhīgamānāyāgh* refers to the girls who are longing for their lovers. Cf. 10.85.2b. *sucd* and *śucā* refer to the female and male animals respectively. Geldner understands herein a reference to the widows and widowers. *śuc* 'to lament' is not known in the R̄gveda. Bergaigne understands the reference to 'prayer' (*ādhīgamānāyāgh sucāyāgh*) and Soma (*sucdasya*).

(cd) Pūṣan is responsible for the thick growth of wool on the sheep and also for keeping it clean and bright. Sayana understands the reference to the woolstrainer for Soma.

7. (a) *ināh rājñānām pātiḥ*—cf. . . . *vāsunah īnaspātiḥ* at 1.53.2b.
(cd) It is difficult to surmise a reason of the shaking up of the beard. Possibly, Pūṣan shakes his beard to throw off the drops of Soma that have clung to his beard. For Indra's beard cf. 10.23.1, 4. *prā-ri-adūdhōt* i.e. shakes forcibly (*prā*) and to and fro (*ri*).

8. (c) *arhinah*—cf. *qūnh arthi* at 7.1.23d; *ānepacyuta-(an-āpa-ścyu)*—'not falling off i.e. untottering; unwavering; steadfast; faithful'. At 4.31.14b Indra's chariot is called *ānepacyut*.

(b) =v 1d above.

9 (c) *rājñānām vydhāh*—cf. *pīṣd neh yāthā vēdaśām dead vydhe* at 1.83.5c; . . . *vydhāh adhīnām* at 7.32.25d; *dakṣasya...vydhah bhūḥ* at 8.15.3a; *sun-
rātāḥ...vydhāḥ* at 5.34.6b etc.

BOOK REVIEWS

Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the 13th Century by K A Nizami, with a foreword by Dr C C Davies and an introduction by Prof M Habib Published for the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University by Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961

Dr Davies in his foreword has expressed a wish that 'this well documented study should find a place on the bookshelves of every Islamic scholar and student of Muslim rule in India" We would have heartily agreed with this view, but for some of the grave lapses in the author's statements and his assessment of the Hindu society It is also difficult to agree with Prof M Habib, who states in the introduction that, "his (Dr Nizami's) attitude is critical and scientific, and he has avoided both polemics and propaganda" Possibly this aspect of the present work has escaped Professor Habib's eye, as his own introduction is extremely polemical

Dr Nizami is eminently fit to write about Indo Islamic culture, and therefore it is sad to see him committing mistakes about "Hindu history" for which a schoolboy in our days would have been taken to task For example "Of the new Rajput States that dominated the political scene, the Chabamanas (sic) ruled in Sambhar and Ajmer, the Paramaras in Malwa, the Kalachuris in Chedi, the Chandellas in Bundelkhand, the Chalukyas in Gujarat, the Gahadavalas in Kannauj (sic), the Palas in Magadha, the Suras, and later the Senas, ruled in Western Bengal" Comment is unnecessary as regards the factual inaccuracies of "Palas of Magadha" and "Senas of Western Bengal" (p 65) Chabamana and Kannauj may be printing mistakes though not mentioned in the errata Another example occurs on p 88 where the surname of a cited authority is given as Bandogopadhyaya, which unfortunately may be taken by a Bengali wag to mean that either the said gentleman is a bovine teacher or a teacher of cows

On p 264, Dr Nizami writes "The fact that the religious leadership of the Bhakti movement in the 14th and the 15th centuries came from the lower strata of Hindu society—a section which had been deeply influenced by the Muslim mystics and their Khan qah-life—is too significant to be ignored Probably never before in the long history of Hinduism, religious leaders had sprung from those strata of society to which Chaitanya Kabir, Nanak Dhanna Dadu and others belonged There was hardly any saint of the Bhakti school who had not passed some of his time in a Khanqah"

It requires extraordinary evidence to call Sri Chaitanya, a high class Brahmin and a product of the intensely high brow Sanskrit learning for which Nadia was justly famous, a member of the lower strata of the Hindu Society and passing his time in a *khanqah*, where food cooked by Muslims, and meat including beef would be served! Does the author realize how deeply he is offending the followers of Chaitanya by his stupid ignorance?

Nanak too was a Khatri, and by no stretch of imagination can be called a member of the "lower strata" of the Hindus. About Dādu's caste there is some doubt, many of his followers claim that he was a Brahmin, while there is some evidence to show that he was originally a Muslim called Daud, but so complete was his identity with the Hindus, that after his death his eldest son, Garibdās performed his Srāddhā ceremony according to Hindu rites. Kabir again was most probably born of Muslim parents and though both he and Dādu had some Muslim disciples, their teachings were mostly confined amongst the Hindus. Thus, the fact remains, that though they had considerable influence on the Hindus, their influence on the Muslims was negligible. It was this factor, more than anything else, which was responsible for their failure to bring the Hindus and Muslims together on a common religious platform. However, Kabir was opposed to founding a sect, and Dādu does not seem to have been very serious about it, but the Sikhs, the sect which was intended by its founder to unite the Hindus and the Muslims, was so cruelly persecuted by the Muslims that ultimately they became completely alienated from the Muslims.

Again where did Dr Nizami get the information that "there was hardly any saint of the Bhakti school who had not passed some of his time in a *khanqah*?" Where is the evidence? When will wishful thinking cease to pass as scholarship in certain prejudiced circles and when will these scholars begin to read what they call "Hindu history", and come down from their region of phantasy to that of historical truth?

Dr Nizami has described on p 71 the Hindu idea of physical contamination and noted what Alberuni has said. If a Hindu was refused entry into his caste for having been held as a prisoner by the Muslims, does it stand to reason that another Hindu would be hailed as a religious teacher after having spent some time in a Muslim *Khanqah*? Imagine Madhva, Vallabha, Tulasi, Mira or Narsi, high class Hindus and pre-eminent leaders of the Bhakti movement, spending their time in a *Khanqah*! Evidently the author is unaware of the leaders of the Bhakti movement the Alvars of the South and its gospel of the *Bhagavat*.

The idea that the Bhakti movement was an exclusive product of the "lower strata of the Hindu society" is absolutely untrue. Be-

fore Islam came to India, the Bhakti movement disregarded the caste system and the fact is that since the time of Ramanuja, who was instructed by a Sudra (at a time when there was no Islamic influence) the caste distinction ceased to operate among the *Sannyasins*, and even among the *Das-namis*, non-Brahmins were admitted

This, however, does not exhaust Dr Nizami's originality. On p 310 he writes "The nature of Turushkidanda (sic) in India . . . was almost identical with *jizya*" We shall be grateful indeed if Dr Nizami can support this statement with any evidence

The Hindu intelligentsia and the politicians do not escape Dr Nizami's smearing brush. Thus he writes "One of the factors responsible for this isolationistic attitude of the Hindus was their sense of superiority 'According to their belief', writes Alberuni, 'there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan or Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow minded as the present generation'". This attitude was not confined to the cultural or the intellectual spheres alone. It had exercised its unhealthy influence in almost every other sphere of external relations. If the laws of Manu may be an index to the mind of the Hindu ruling classes, this attitude towards foreign powers was one of contemptuous indifference, suspicion and even hostility. 'Let (the king) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour', was Manu's advice to his contemporary rulers" (p 326) Was the sage wrong?

Now, for Alberuni's remarks, he has himself given a clue to the change in Hindu mentality, and has written "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful evulsions, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment from political and religious sources"

This statement is made in the paragraph preceding the one quoted by Dr Nizami, and we think it to be rather disingenuous of him not to have quoted this passage also. Perhaps he thinks that the Hindus conquered by the Turks and brutally treated, should have grovelled in dust before their conquerors

cies of a situation. As for archaeological evidence, the less said the better. The Qutb Minar complex is evidence enough of the way in which Hindu temples were broken to erect Islamic structures. And, where are the ancient temples of North India, except in Khajuraho where the Sultan could not penetrate? They are to be found in abundance in Orissa which resisted the early Turkish onslaught successfully. Ultimately the Afghans conquered them, but soon after the Mughals under Akbar came, and to this happy incident we may ascribe the existence of the great school of Orissa architecture. Elsewhere in North India the temples are in ruins, including the Somanātha temple, which Prof. Habib says was rebuilt by the Hindus, but he omits to mention that it was redemolished by the Muslims.

It is interesting to recall in this connection contemporary Hindu attitude towards Islam. The first mosque was built in Gujarat on July 15, 1053, that is within about two decades of Sultan Mahmud's pillage of the Somanatha temple. Again, when some Hindus incited by the Parsis destroyed a mosque at Cambay, the King of Gujarat, Jayasimha Siddharaja, personally went there, punished the offenders and paid for the reconstruction of the mosque. The famous Gujarati merchant Jagadū had a mosque built for the worship of the Muslims. But even more striking is the building of a mosque at Veraval by Rājakula Chāhada, with the permission of the chief-priest of the Somanātha temple. But all these acts of active toleration of Islam could not save the shrine from the iconoclastic fury of subsequent Sultans. Dr. Nizami and Dr. Habib might have mentioned these traditions of Hindu toleration.

It is not a pleasant task to criticize a book, and Dr. Nizami's chapters on Indo Muslim mystics are useful and informative. But there is a growing tendency among modern Indo Muslim scholars to gloss over the atrocities committed by the Turkish conquerors of India. This is somewhat baffling, for it is difficult to understand the motive which identifies an Indian Muslim with the Turkish conquerors on the basis of religion alone. This mentality, which led to the formation of Pakistan, has to be radically changed. An Indian Muslim cannot by any stretch of imagination be held responsible for what the Turkish invaders did centuries ago any more than they can be for the happenings in Pakistan. And since they are condemning the Pakistani Muslims one fails to understand as to why they should not condemn the Muslim Turks. Unfortunately, instead there is the cry of re-writing history, presumably on the basis of books like Dr. Nizami's.

To our very great regret we are compelled to criticise some observations of Prof. Habib. To show the flourishing condition of the Hindus, Prof. Habib concludes his introduction by a long quota-

tion from Barani. Now, what is the worth of Barani's evidence relative to the Hindus. Dr Nizami writes "But he (Barani) was so deeply prejudiced against Hindus that it is difficult to vouch for the truth of his statements. Probably his personal interests had suffered at the hands of some Hindu landlords and this had embittered his attitude towards the Hindus in general" (p 317). Is it not therefore hazardous to come to any conclusion regarding the condition of the Hindus on Barani's testimony?

Prof Habib and Dr Nizami have attempted to explain the Turkish conquest of India by trying to prove on the authority of some modern Hindu scholars the superiority of the casteless Muslim society over the caste-ridden Hindu society. It is not our intention to defend the caste system but the fact remains that the prevalence of the caste system alone cannot be responsible for the Hindu defeat. Such a theory cannot explain for example destruction of the Caliphate by Hulagu. Again Prof Habib admits that the army of Chinghiz Khan did not exceed 90,000 as against the Khwarazmian army of 4 to 5 lacs (p v. Introduction). How did Chinghiz defeat his huge host of caste-less warriors? Prof Habib then quotes Dr Nizami's following statement with approval "Had the Hindu masses resisted the Turkish rule in India, the Ghurids would not have been able to retain an inch of Indian territory" (Introduction p xviii text p 80). It may be noted here that Dr Nizami uses the term "masses" in the sense of "untouchables" (p 70). How then did the Mongols destroy the great centres of Islamic culture with their flourishing population? If the Muslim masses had resisted, following Dr Nizami's argument, certainly the Mongols could not have wiped them out. Just two years after the sack of Baghdad and quartering of the Caliph, Dr Nizami points out, the Sultan gave a royal reception to the Mongol envoy at Delhi (p 122-23). Why was the casteless society of Islam forced to suffer this humiliation? But this is not all. Why did the Muslims fail to conquer South India and how could the (reactionary?) Vijayanagara Empire flourish? And why was the Muslim power in its later phase crushed by the Rajputs and the Marathas in spite of the existence of a caste less Muslim mass in India? Evidently Prof Habib and Dr Nizami have not thought of this aspect of history.

Another novel theory put forward by Dr Nizami is "The place of the 'caste cities' of the Rajput period was taken by the 'cosmopolitan cities' of the Mussalmans. The gates of the new cities were thrown open for workers artisans and Chandals" (p 85). For the first time we learn that artisans and workers were not allowed to live inside a Hindu city. However Dr Nizami adds

'The new cities that rose from Lahore to Lakhnauti were symbols of a new social order. Workers, labourers, artisans, the non-caste people and the unprivileged classes fully benefited from the urbanization policy of the Sultans and enjoyed, for the first time, the amenities of civic life. The Rajput and the privileged classes chafed under a sense of humiliation and defeat but the working classes joined hands with the new Government and helped it in building the new cities' (p. 85)

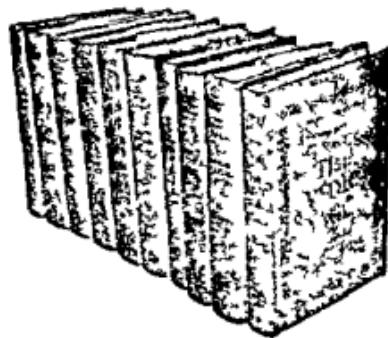
Now, what is the evidence upon which Dr Nizami stigmatizes a large section of the Hindus to be so devoid of patriotic feeling as to gleefully collaborate with the conquerors? For, in the 13th century, the period with which the book deals, the Turks must have been regarded by their contemporary Hindus as foreigners, though modern Indo Muslim scholars may think differently being blessed with hind sight. The basis of Dr Nizami's conclusion is as he admits, "Prof Habib's observation that 'face to face with social and economic provision of the Shari' at and the Hindu Smritis as practical alternatives the Indian city-workers preferred the Shari' at" supplies the key to an explanation of Ghurid rule by the Indians" (p. 83, emphasis by Dr Nizami) Prof Habib, however, in extreme modesty, gives full credit for this theory to Dr Nizami (Introduction pp. xx para (a)), who like Prof Habib, does not believe in citing facts to prove a theory (For an account of the Hindu town administration, we would respectfully request Prof Habib and Dr Nizami to read Dr Dikshit's book reviewed in this issue)

There are one or two other implications inherent in Dr Nizami's statement quoted above, namely, (1) the 'civic amenities' available to the poor class Hindus in a medieval Muslim city and (2) which were the "new cities that rose up from Lahore to Lakhnauti" both Lahore and Lakhnauti being former Hindu cities

Another reason advanced by Dr Nizami which endeared the Islamic law to the Hindu lower castes was the abolition of trial by ordeal (p. 83)

It is therefore surprising to learn that Jalal ud din ordered Sayyidi Maula and his associates "to pass through the ordeal of fire in order to establish their guiltlessness" (p. 290)

The work under review belongs to a school of history which attempts to palliate the destructive fury of the early Turkish conquerors by contrasting the Islamic society with a degraded Hindu society both creations of their imagination, and arriving at conclusions purely on basis of inference without any evidence in support. It does not occur to either Prof Habib or Dr Nizami to explain the curious spectacle of the Hindu masses cheerfully submitting to the discipline of the Varṇāśrama dharma even when the political power was exercised by the Muslims. It would have been far more satis-



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EMOTIONAL SIMILE IN THE RGVEDA AND THE CONCEPT OF BHAKTI

H D VELANKAR

Introduction

- 1 A simile is one of the earliest devices employed by an imaginative mind to convey its meaning with ease and grace. In its earliest stage it was probably employed as a mere help to understanding, trying to make a thing clearer by its juxtaposition with an illustration, which is selected because of its well knownness in respect of the particular property or properties that are intended to be conveyed with regard to that thing, i.e. the thing under description. This simile in its simplest form may be called an Illustrative simile i.e. a simile whose main purpose is to convey the intended meaning with greater ease, force, accuracy and elegance, with the help of a well-known illustration.
- 2 It is rightly considered as the earliest and the simplest of the Artha-Alamkaras. An Artha-Alamkara is an Alamkara made out of the Artha or the meaning which is intended to be conveyed by a Kavya. It consists in a particular arrangement and mode of expressing that meaning and these may assume many different forms. The Alamkāra receives corresponding names and the most prominent among these is the Upama or the Simile. All these are called Alamkaras because they embellish a Kavya, which is fancied to be like a Purusa with a soul consisting of Rasa and a body constituted by Śabda and Artha. The Alamkaras of both Śabda and Artha take the place of a necklace and the like which beautify a human body.
- 3 A simple Illustrative simile is thus an Alamkara intended to adorn a Kavya, but in addition to this simple variety, there are at least two others which lend a greater charm to a Kavya. These may be called the Decorative and the Emotional similes. The Decorative simile has an appeal to the imagination of the hearer or the reader, while the Emotional simile has an appeal to his heart. Both express a similarity between the thing under description (called the Upameya) and a well known object famous for certain qualities, which are intended by the poet to be conveyed with reference to this Upameya. But in addition to this the Decorative simile helps an imaginative hearer or reader to raise a mental image or picture of the well known thing (called the Upamāna), which image when placed by the

'paint' is the Vedic word which closely approaches the later concept of an *Alamkāra*

5 By the side of this Decorative simile there exists in the Rgveda in particular another kind of simile, which seems to stand in a category by itself and which I have preferred to call the Emotional simile. It does not necessarily raise a mental picture of the Upamana so as to stand by the side of the Upameya and decorate it, though it may do so in some cases. Its main purpose is to bring to the mind of the hearer those feelings and emotions which are invariably associated with the Upamanas that are adopted in it. A Decorative simile appeals to the imagination of the hearer for raising a concrete picture of the Upamana, an Emotional simile, on the other hand, has an appeal to the heart and may help the hearer, if he is a man of *finer emotions and feelings*, in understanding the emotions and feelings which are invariably associated with the Upamanas adopted in it, also in relation to the Upameya.

Thus, for example, when a Visvāmitra poet says to Indra 'I cling to the skirt of your garment, O Indra, as a son does to that of his father' (3.53.2), the image of a man and a child is surely brought to our mind, but the full implication of the simile is understood by us only when the feelings and emotions well known in the *father* and the *son* (not in the man and the child) are fully comprehended respectively in connection with Indra and the poet. We understand the simile only when we comprehended that Indra is possessed of the feelings of love and attachment for the poet as a father is for his son, and that the poet in his turn has the same single minded devotion to Indra which a young son has towards his father and on the strength of which the former can check the movement of the latter by clinging to the skirt of his garment.

6 In the Rgvedic hymns this Emotional simile is primarily intended to serve a distinct purpose, namely an appeal to the deity's heart in addition to his mind and palate. When the Rgvedic poets were competing with each other to secure the favour of a deity like Indra, they first attempted to do so with the help of such means as a hymn of praise which is meant to please the mind and an offering of Soma and the like which is calculated to satisfy his palate. But both these means have a limited scope of improvement and at a certain stage fail to serve the purpose of competition in which each competitor tries to give a newer and more powerful hymn of praise and a more tasteful and exhilarating draught of Soma. When however, there did not exist any significant difference between the qualities of the hymn and the Soma offered by the two

rivals, there was no reason, so the poets argued, why the deity should select the one to the exclusion of the other. It is at this stage of their endeavour to win the deity's favour that the Emotional simile seems to have entered the realm of their poetic imagery and craft. The poets naturally turned to their inner feelings of love for the deity, of friendship, of relationship with the deity, with which they sought to supplement their external gifts of hymns and offerings. It is in such a state of affairs that we find the R̄gvedic poets requesting the deity to favour them in preference to their rivals, owing to a mutual relationship as between the father and the son and the like.

7 An Emotional simile is thus a simile where the Upamana or the Upamanas are words expressive of an intimate relationship which connotes certain emotions and feelings. These emotions and feelings in their turn are associated with particular actions, gestures and attitudes, which generally constitute the common property in these similes. It is worthy of note that the Emotional simile mainly pertains to the sphere of human relationship in its various aspects, such as father and son, mother and child, husband and wife, lover and beloved or lastly friend and friend. But as between the father and the mother, the former figures more prominently than the latter the idea being chiefly of seeking support or help on the basis of that relationship rather than that of mere affection. When however, there is an occasion to mention the disinterested love of a deity, which does not expect any service in return, the mother counts as the highest among all the relatives. A Kanya poet compares Indra with his human relatives and exclaims —

'You, O Indra are better than my father and also my brother who does not feed me. So far as the gift of riches is concerned, O God, you and my mother appear to me equals' (8 1 6) On the other hand among animal relatives it is always the mother, and hardly ever the father who is mentioned in the Emotional similes. This is quite natural because the young one of an animal hardly ever knows its father, it derives all its nourishment and protection from its mother.

8 Generally both the co relatives are mentioned in an Emotional simile by words expressive of that relationship but at times, only one of them is mentioned the other being conveyed by implication. The senior one among the pairs of relatives is offered as an Upamana for the deity the junior one being reserved for the human worshipper. Thus the deity is compared with a *pita*, or a *mata* with a *patti* or a *marya*, the wor-

shipper being compared with a son or a young one, with a wife or with a beloved. The opposite of this, however, sometimes takes place, particularly in the case of Agni and Soma, when the worshipper is compared with a father and the deity with the son, but this is in view of the physical forms of these gods which have to be looked after and preserved by the worshipper who therefore takes the place of the father. In the similes of the cow and the calf, on the other hand, the hymns of the poet or his Soma offerings often take the place of the cow, the deity (mostly Indra, Agni only once) being the calf or the young one. Among the relationship between a man and a woman, it is generally the deity who is compared with a husband and a lover, while the worshipper, his hymns and offerings are compared with a wife or a beloved. Only rarely does the opposite take place, thus at 1 66 5 Agni is compared with a *jayā* and the worshipper with a husband, by implication. At 2 16 8 the worshippers are compared with virile males and the good graces of the god with their wives. Similarly at 4 20 5 the worshipper, a Vāmadeva poet, compares himself with a lover and Indra with the beloved who is willing to follow her lover to an appointed place.

9 In an Emotional simile an adjective is often employed for the Upamana to help the proper comprehension of the emotions conveyed by it, before the simile is fully understood. Thus a father is *sambhu*, *suhava* or *pramati*, a mother is *pipyāna*, a cow is *dhenu*, *yavasasya* *pipyuṣi*, *rihana* or *vastrā*, a child or the young one is *upasi*, *preṣṭha*, *jata*, *nitya*, *priya*, *subhṛta* or *hṛdya*, also a holder of the skirt of its parents' garment, a wife is *usatī* *sumbhamanā* or *suvaśah*, a husband is *usan*, a lover is *abhi* *manya-māṇah*, *priya* or *vadhūyu*, a beloved is *kalyāṇi* or *rocamāṇā*, lastly a friend is *priya*, *prita*, *praśasya*, *seva*, *suseva*, *satya* or *sudhita*. This Emotional simile sometimes develops into an Emotional Rūpaka and the deity is described as a *pītā*, a *mātā*, a *jāmī* or a *bhrātā* of the poets. Agni is thus called *pīta*, *āpi* and *sakha* at 1 26 3, a *pramatī* *pīta* at 1 31 10, 14, 16, 2 1 9, 5 4 2, *pīta* as well as *mata* at 6 1 5, a *jāmī*, *mitra* and *sakhā* at 1 75 4. Indra is called *sakhā* and *pītā* at 4 17 17, *pītā* and *mātā* at 8 98 11, *āpi* at 3 51 6, 6 21 8, 8 3 1, 8 45 18, *āpi* and *sakhā* at 6 45 17, *āpi*, *sakhā* and *jāmī* (by implication) at 4 25 6, *āpya* and *pītā* at 7 32 19 and lastly *bhrātā* at 3 53 5.

10 In almost all of these similes and Rupakas the deity is presumed to be superior to and on a higher level than the worshipper. There is however, one single exception and that is in the case of the word *sakhi* (and only once of the word *āpi*).

at 1 26 3 in the case of Agni) This word *sakhi* is simultaneously employed for both the deity and the worshipper and the poet seems to consider himself as being on the same level with the deity, putting forward some claims on this basis. This has happened in the case of Agni in seven passages, in the case of Indra in seven passages, in the case of Soma in four passages, and in the case of the Maruts only in a single passage. Besides these cases we may also refer to the four similes where both the deity and the worshipper are called *sakhi* (Agni at 3 18 1, Soma at 8 48 4 9 104 5, 9 105 5) In the case of Varuṇa only the *Vasiṣṭha* poet could put forward such a claim to the *sakhyā* on the basis of equality, but that too, he bewails, was a thing of the past (7 86 4 7 88 6) In addition to the above passages, there is a very large number of places where a worshipper either claims or demands the *apya jāmitva*, *apitva* and *bandhu*, but most commonly the *sakhyā* of the deity, of Agni and Indra in particular. This would show that of all the different kinds of relationship, a worshipper craves most for that of friendship with a deity, especially his *sakhyā*

11 We have seen above how the Emotional simile may have descended on the horizon of the poet's imaginative faculty as a sort of supplement to his usual gifts of hymns and offerings to the deity. The Rgvedic poet has thought of all the different kinds of close relationship, both of the humans and of the animals some of which suggest a sort of aloofness, while the others indicate different degrees of intimacy. The similes of the father and the son or of the mother and the son, suggest a sort of aloofness on the part of the father in particular, at any rate the relationship seems to be operative mostly on the side of the father and the mother, the child being only a passive partner in it. The same may be said in the case of the similes of an animal mother and her young one. When however, we turn to the similes of a husband and a wife, a lover and the beloved we discern some sort of intimacy in their relationship, where both have to play their part though the husband and the lover still play the role of a superior partner deserving and claiming the service and the attention of the other. The scene appears to be materially changing in favour of greater intimacy when we come to the similes in which the feelings of friendship figure. But even here there are two clear stages in the first we have a friend who is expected to render material help to his companion owing to his possession of greater resources. The Rgvedic poets have used the term *mitra* for such a friend, but have used it mostly for the deity

and only rarely for the worshipper. The deity alone is *mitra*, usually Agni and Indra, while the worshipper goes without a name.

12. The highest and the best kind of relationship which figures in an Emotional simile is that of a mutual friendship which signifies greatest intimacy and emotional equality between the two partners, namely the deity and the worshipper. Here both are called *sakhi* without any apparent difference in the depth of their feelings, either expressed or suggested, by means of adjectives or associate words. The Emotional Rūpakaś based on the word *sakhi* also show that the Rgvedic poets valued this relationship as the highest and the most covetable one; this is also why of all the different kinds of relationships they claimed and prayed most often for the *sakhyā* of the deity. It is evident that these Emotional similes and Rūpakaś disclose different kinds and degrees of attachment culminating in an equality of the same in both the parties, and that this equality of attachment comes nearest to the concept of Bhakti which is later defined as *parā anurakti*. We may here compare the words of Srikr̥ṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* XI. 44: *piteva putrasya sakheva sakhyuḥ priyah priyāyārhasi deva sodhum*. We may further note that this sentiment which makes Arjuna employ these similes is described by Srikr̥ṣṇa himself as *ananyā bhakti* at XI. 54.
13. This equality in the depth of mutual attachment which is sought to be conveyed by the employment of the same word *sakhi* for both the deity and the worshipper is definitely incompatible with the feelings of awe on the part of the worshipper and those of pity on the part of the deity. The physical environments of the two may be very different from each other; but the equality in the depth of their feelings brings about an intimate friendship between the two, owing to which one is prepared to give the best which he has to the other. It is wrong to think that among the Sakhis god alone gives and that the worshipper alone receives; both surrender whatever best they have owing to their mutual attachment, and this surrender is comparable with the passionate surrender of ideal lovers to each other and not with that of a slave to his master. It is indeed on the basis of such feelings of mutual and intimate friendship that the Rgvedic poets are found taking great liberties with Agni, or Indra and his comrades Maruts and telling them what they would do if they had been so fortunate as to be placed in the affluent circumstances like the gods. Very often the poets tell Indra and Agni that just as they were devoted to him (*tvāyavah*) so were the gods too devoted

to the poets (asmayuh). They also argue with them on the strength of the same bonds of intimate friendship that a friend of Indra will be recognised as such by the patrons only if Indra were to see that this friend of his was quite well-to-do and was not required to beg for favours from his human patrons (Rv 8 2 13-14). It is quite evident to a dispassionate student of the Rgveda that the poets did not receive any free favours or gifts from their rich patrons as mere beggars, but only as a partial return for the great divine help which was secured for them through their instrumentality. It is hardly necessary after this discussion to reaffirm that this kind of mutual intimate friendship on the basis of equality in the depth of sentiment between the deity and the worshipper is the highest ideal of a relationship between the two as disclosed by the hymns of the Rgveda. This is very similar to the *sakhya bhakti* out of the nine kinds of Bhakti known to the post-vedic period, in its essential features and since this can be seen generally in the case of Indra and not of Varuna, I may be permitted to repeat what I had already enunciated at Rgveda, Mandala VII, Introduction, p IV—'If early origins of the Bhakti of our concept, are to be traced to any Rgvedic hymns it must be to those addressed to Indra and not to Varuna.'

14 An Emotional simile in its purest form is rarely to be found in the Rgveda, if at all. Feelings and emotions of human heart cannot be understood except through a medium. This medium in the case of an imaginative poet is a mental picture of an abode of these feelings which he is able to raise in the minds of his hearers. Thus in the simile of a father and the son, or of a friend and a friend, a mental picture of two persons is quite necessary and in that respect the simile may be called partly Decorative. The same is true in the similes of a mother and a child, a mother cow and a calf, a husband and a wife, or a lover and a beloved. The pictures of a woman and a child, of a cow and a calf, of a man and a woman, of a youth and a maiden are quite necessary in the corresponding similes as the mediums to convey the respective feelings and emotions expressed by the different Upamanas. Yet the full and correct import of an Emotional simile can be apprehended only after understanding the feelings and emotions connoted by the Upamana in it through the medium of a mental picture offered as an aid for this same purpose by the poet. Besides, this image or picture is unable to be decorative of the Upameya as in the case of a Decorative simile, since the Upameyas in the Emotional simile such as a father and a mother, a lover

and the maiden, or a friend and a friend are abstract ideas and not concrete ones. The mental pictures raised in it are thus unable to be decorative of the abstract Upameya and the simile cannot be properly called a Decorative simile. Mental pictures are raised in both the Decorative and the Emotional similes, but in the former they decorate the Upameya and thereby add to the beauty and charm of the poem, while in the latter, there being no concrete object for them to decorate, they merely serve as a medium for conveying the feelings and sentiments connoted by the Upamānas and thereby add to the beauty and charm of the poem as a whole.

15

The Emotional similes are classified under the following six heads—I Mother and Son or Daughter, II Mother cow and her young one, III Father and Son, IV Husband and Wife, V Lover and Maiden, VI Friend and Friend. The poet generally selects one of the two partners in each relationship and tries to convey the emotions associated with this relationship through the medium of actions and gestures that are suggestive of the emotions. These actions and gestures are usually meant to constitute the common property in the simile. Thus a mother in the first pair offers her body and garment for feeding and protecting the child, reserving her best possessions for it. The mother cow in the second pair is eager to meet her young one with her udders filled with milk, affectionately licks it and makes a lowing sound on seeing it and is prepared to sacrifice her personal safety if necessary in the interest of her calf. The father in the third pair is easily approachable to the son, bestows his providential care and guidance on him and showers his eager and watchful affections on him while he is yet a child in arms. In the fourth pair the wife faithfully renders personal and ardent service to her husband, filling him with utmost delight by her eager approach and passionate embraces. The maiden in the fifth pair allows herself to be pursued by the lover, exciting his passion by her gestures and eager to meet him at the appointed place fixed up by mutual consent. Like a wife she too surrenders her personal charms to the lover and remains faithful to him. The friend of the Mitra type in the sixth or the last pair is helpful in establishing good relations between the neighbours and shows himself a successful match maker between the two families of the bride and the bride-groom, when necessary. He is benevolent, helpful in overpowering the enemy and acquiring property for his friend, famous for steadiness in friendship, honest and straightforward in his dealings and deserving great praise. Owing to these sterling qualities of his he is in the danger of being tempted away by

others and hence deserves to be very carefully retained and supported, by personal attention and care. Lastly the friend of the *Sakhi* type in the same sixth pair is a bosom friend. The two bosom friends are mutually helpful and find great pleasure in each other's company.

16 In each of these six sections under which the similes are arranged, they are given in the order in which they occur in the text of the *Rgveda Samhita*. The translation with a few explanatory notes where necessary of the passages is given above, while the Sanskrit text is given below. An index of all the passages which are discussed here is given at the end while a deity wise distribution of the different *Upamānas* is appended after the Index.

I Mother and Child

1 ~ Like a very lovely maiden carefully decorated by her mother, you disclose your body (for all) to see (1 123 11)

Here the adjective *mātrmṛṣṭā* of the Upamāna viz *yosā* used of Usas, is emotional, the word *mātr* suggesting the tender affection and care with which the *marjana* is executed

2 I shall bend down for you like a woman who swells with milk, (i e a mother) (3 33 10)

This is said by the River to Visvāmitra. She means that she will bend down for him (in order that he may be able to cross) with the tenderness and affection which is characteristic of a mother who suckles her child

3 The Adhvaryus send you that Soma, O Indra, whom Heaven and Earth hold in themselves for your sake as a mother does her child in the womb (3 46 5)

The delicate tenderness and care in holding and preserving Soma are conveyed by the simile

4 The released waters speedily ran towards Indra (who was their deliverer) as women do towards their (new-born) child (4 19 5)

Janayah here stands for a woman who is recently delivered of a child, the joy with which they approach the new-born one is what is conveyed by the simile

5 Extending widely when you, like a mother, (O Agni), carry every kind of vital food which you hold, to each person in order that he may support himself and have a vision, you are praised, possessed of various forms you by yourself go around them (5 15 4)

bharase The Ātmane Pada is significant, as the mother carries herself towards the infant to suckle him (*dhāyase* from *dhā*), so does Agni towards men

6 May Aditi greet my hymn of praise, which is very pleasing and appealing to the heart, as a mother does her son who is very pleasing and has risen from her own bosom. (5 42 2)

१ मुसकाशा मातमृष्टेव योपाविस्तन्वं हृणुये ।

२ नि ते नसै पीप्यानेव योसा ।

३ य सोममिन्द्र पथिवीद्यावा गर्व न माता निमृतस्त्वाया ।

४ अभि प्र ददुर्जनयो न गर्भम् ।

५ मातेव यद् भरसे पत्रयानो जनजन धायसे चक्षसे च ।

६ प्रति मे स्तोमदितिर्जग्म्यात्मूनु न माता हृद्य मुरोवम् ।

The word *prati* conveys the idea of the active reception which a mother gives to her child by herself inclining towards it

7. May the two, faithfully visiting the battles, as a young woman does the festive gatherings, hold in their bosom (the arrow), as the mother does her son. (6.75.4).

ācarantī: ā car 'to be faithful'; see *Rgveda* *Mandala VII. p. 171*; the two are the bow-ends and the thing supported on their bosom is the arrow.

8. May the gods seat themselves on the top of the sacred grass like sons feeding themselves on the bosom of their mother. (7.43.3)

vibhṛtrāḥ 'expanding themselves', goes primarily with *putrāsah* and refers to a feeding child. The root *ā sad* is associated with the accusative in the simile and with the locative in the context.

9. We pray for (a lovely gift) of you who are a giver of such gifts May we be (the receivers of gifts) as the sons are of a mother. (7.81.4).

The gifts are expected to be given out of natural affection and not in return for service, by *Uṣas*.

10. The two worlds have followed your conquering power as two mothers do their child. (8.99.6).

mātarā: mātarā: The dual is in sympathy with the *Upameya kṣonī*.

11. The relative has dressed himself in the white garment (i.e. milk); he moved on to them as a son does to the sides (of his mother) for feeding. (9.101.14).

Soma is described; supply *sarat* to complete the sentence. *atka* is the *arjuna* *atka* namely cow's milk; cf. 9.107.13.

12. Your mother, i.e. the earth, supports you, attending upon you and rearing you as (a mother) does her noble-born child. (10.4.3).

५. ते आचरन्ती... मातेव पुत्र विमतामुपस्थे ।
 ६. आ पुत्रासो न मातर विमृशा. सानी देवासो वहिप सदन्तु ।
 ७. सस्यास्ते रलभाज ईमहे वय स्याम मातुर्नं सूनवः ।
 ८. अनु ते सुप्तं तुरयन्तमीयतु. क्षोणी शिशु न मातरा ।
 ९. आ जामिरके अव्यत मुजे न पुत्र ओष्योः ।
 १०. शिशु न त्वा जेन्य वर्द्यन्ती माता विमति ।

This is said to Agni, *mata* is the earth. The word is to be understood twice, a second time in the simile *vardhayanti* suggests that a human mother is meant

13 Bestow on us (as a gift) (O Waters), that your most blissful sweet fluid which belongs to you, as eager mothers do (their milk on their child) (10 9 2)

Supply *sisum* or *putram* in the simile

14 Cover him carefully, O Earth, as a mother does her son with the skirt of her garment (10 18 11)

The earth is requested to cover the remains in the form of the bones of the dead person with tender lightness and not press them down

sicā lends a special touch of affection to the simile. Covering the child with the skirt of her own garment by the mother suggests intensity of affection

१३ यो व दिवतमो रस । तस्य भाजयते ह न उशतीरिव मातर ।

१४ माता पुथ यथा सिचा अम्बेन भूम ऊणुहि ।

II Mother Cow and calf

1 The Waters, flowing forward, went down straight to the ocean, like lowing cows (to their calf) (1 32 2)

Supply vatsam to complete the sentence in the simile Both the words *vāsrah* and *dhenavah* are significant They suggest the eagerness of approach of the cow to her calf

2 The mother was above, the son below Dānu lay down like a milch-cow accompanied by her calf (covered with her body) (1 32 9)

3 The lightning roars and clings (to the rains) like a lowing cow to her calf, when the shower of rain of these (Maruts) was released (1 38 8)

In spite of the repetition of the Vacaka (*va-na*) the simile is one, *vasra* being an adjective of *matā mīmati* and *śīṣakti* are two aspects of the common property and hence the two Vacakas corresponding to them seem to have been employed

4 Agni, having a far reaching lustre expands in all directions like an animal (mother) with its brood of young ones (1 65 10)

Agni's lustres are compared with the young ones of an animal, playing around her under her protection and care

5 And may Ahi of the Bottom grant us happiness, Sindhu approaches us as a (milch-cow) swelling with milk approaches her young calf (1 186 5)

nah is to be understood also in the second sentence, Geldner understands 'the new hymn' as the object which is referred to by *yena* in c. But this is less likely. Generally the hymn is conceived as a cow and the deity as the young one, though sometimes the deity or his grace (*sumati*) is conceived as a cow, when the worshipper is the beneficiary. In that case the hymn may be regarded as playing the part of a mediary as at 7 18 4 *pīpyuṣi* i e *payasā*, cf 10 64 12

6 And our prayers, yoked like horses (to his chariot) lovingly lick him i e Indra, as cows do their young calf (1 186 7)

१ वाया इव वेनव स्पन्दमाना अञ्ज समुद्रमव जमुराप ।

२ उत्तरा सूरधर पुव वासीदानु शये सहवत्सा न धेनु ।

३ वायेव विद्युभ्यमाति वत्स न माता तिपवित यदेषा वृष्टिरसर्जि ।

४ पशुने शिश्वा विभुद्दरेमा ।

५ उत नोऽहर्वृद्धो मयस्क शिशु न पिष्पुपेव वति सिन्व ।

६ उत न ई मतपोऽन्वयाना शिशु त गावस्त्राण गिरन्ति ।

rihanti conveys the motherly affection of an animal towards its calf.

7. The Nights and the Dawns have bellowed towards you, O Agni, as the milch-cows do towards their calves in their stalls. (2.2.2).

svasara is surely the place where the cows meet their calves and give them their feed both before going out for grazing in the pastures in the morning and after coming back from these in the evening. It seems to refer to a special place where cows were led for being milked.

8. Do you return to us before the actual blow (of the calamity), as a cow does to her calf after filling herself full with the pasture. (2.16.8).

This is said to Indra who is compared to a cow who returns to her calf after grazing, to give it its full feed.

9. They i.e. the Maruts fatten the abundant food-stores for the sake of a person who brings them offerings, as a cow does for the sake of her young calf at the milking stalls (2.34.8).

The *ışam* in the case of the calf is milk and here the reference seems to be to the evening milking.

10. May that favour which belongs to you, O Maruts, that good grace of yours, go to us, well turning herself hereward, like a lowing (milch-cow towards her young calf). (2.34.15).

vatsam as well as *nah* are to be supplied to complete the sentence and the simile.

11. The two (rivers) are moving along the common i.e. the self-same, resting place (namely their common bed), like two mother cows licking their calf. (3.33.3).

The common bed is compared with a calf and the rivers with the mother cows; *matārā* is a sympathetic dual used in sympathy with the dual *Upameya* i.e. *Vipāt-Śutudrī*.

12. Our thoughtful prayers lick the great drinker of Soma, Indra, the lord of strength, as the mother cows do their calf. (3.41.5).

rihanti conveys motherly affection as in No. 6 above. *mātarāḥ* is plural in sympathy with the *Upameya matayāḥ*.

५. अभि त्वा नक्तीरुपसो ववाधिरेऽने वत्स न स्वसरेषु धेनवः।

६. पूरा सवाधादभ्याववृत्त्वं नो धेनुनं वत्स यवसस्य पिष्टुणी।

७. धनुर्न दिश्वे स्वसरेषु पिन्वते जनाय रातहविये महीमिषम्।

८. अर्वाची सा मश्तो या व ऊतिरो पु वाथेव सुमतिर्जिगातु।

९. वत्समिय भातरा सरिहणे समान योनिमनु सचरन्ती।

१०. मतय. सोमपामुहु रिहन्ति शवतस्यतिन्। इन्द्र वत्स न भातर।

13 O Lord of the fields, shake off on us a bubbling wave containing the sweet fluid (i e drinking water), as a milch cow does her milk (on her calf) (4 57 2)

vatse, corresponding to *asmāsu*, is to be supplied

14 These our words of praise have loudly greeted you with a grunt, O Satakratu, O Indra, as the mother cows do their calf (6 45 25)

abhi pra nu or *abhi na* signifies 'greet, welcome' with a grunt of admiration, with a lowing sound in the case of the cows *matarah*. The plural is in sympathy with the Upameya *girah*. As a matter of fact the number of *vatsa* is almost always singular whatever the number of *mātr* or *dhenu* is employed

15 At every pressing of Soma, these hymns of ours lovingly cling to you, O lover of hymns, as the milch-cows do to their calf (6 45 28)

dhenavah is used as an adjective, the plural as above

16 The two ample divine doors licking (the chariots of the gods), as the two mother cows do their calf, have anointed themselves like maidens at festive gatherings (7 2 5)

athan is to be supplied in the chief sentence, corresponding to *sīsum* in the simile *matarā* is sympathetic dual as in No 11 *sāñjan* is reflexive, with *tanvam* supplied

17 And may the two great divine sacrifice-deserving Ladies, Uśas and Nakta, resort to us for our welfare, as a milch-cow who is possessed of ample milk which is easily yielded, does (to her calf) (7 2 6)

vatsam, corresponding to *nah*, is to be supplied in the simile

18 Seeking to milk you Vasiṣṭha has released his hymns towards you, like a calf towards its mother, in a good pasture (7 18 4)

The hymns are compared to a calf at whose approach the cow is inclined to yield her milk *sūyavase* suggests an additional temptation to the cow, but it is really the approach of

१३ धेनस्य पते मवुमत्तमभिव वेनुरिव पदो अस्मासु घुक्ष्व ।

१४ इमा उ त्वा धत्तकोऽम प्रणानुवृग्गिर । इन्द्र वत्स न मातर ।

१५ इमा उ त्वा सुत सुते नक्षते गिवणो गिर । वत्स गावो न वेनव ।

१६ पूर्वे गिव न मातरा रिहाणे समशुद्धो न समनेवज्जन् ।

१७ उत योपणे दिवे मही न उपासानक्षता सुदुर्घव धेनु । आ श्रयेताम ।

१८ धेनु न त्वा सूयवसे दुदुक्तुप ब्रह्माणि सत्त्वजे वसिष्ठ ।

her calf which induces the flow of milk in the cow's udders. The poet suggests that his hymns are as dearly loved by Indra as a calf is by its mother.

19. May your grace, O lords of Beauty, run towards us as a milch-cow does (towards her calf). (8.22.4).

Supply *vatsam* corresponding to *asmān*; *ā dhāvatu* is the common property conveying the emotional relationship.

20. And my words of praise have resorted to you, O Agni, as milch-cows do to their stall for the sake of their calf which lows in response to them. (8.43.17)

Really speaking the poet intends to compare his hymns with a cow and Agni with a calf; but so far as the expression goes, he has compared Agni with the stall. The cows go to their stall in the evening to meet their waiting calf, lowing in response to them (*prati haryate vāśrāya*). Perhaps we may supply *tubhyam* and consider Agni as compared with both the *goṣṭha* and the *vāśra vatsa* in it.

21. After him (i.e. Varuṇa) the Waters bellowed as the milch-cows having calves do after their calf. (8.69.11).

samśīśvarīḥ: Supply *gāvah*; *sam* has the sense of *saha* and the word has the same sense as *śīśumatīḥ* at 2.43 2. *abhyanūṣata*: See on No.14 above.

22. They i.e. the Soma juices, know their own usual haunt; like calves with their mothers they have commingled with their relatives. (8.72.14).

svam okyam is Indra's *jathara*; *jāmibhūḥ* refers to the milkstreams which are added to the juice.

23. We admiringly greet Indra with our hymns as milch-cows do their calf at the milking stalls. (8.88.1)

abhi navāmake: See on No.14 above. *svasareṣu*: See on No. 7.

24. The two worlds have become indulgent towards your on-rushing vigour, O Indra, as two mother cows do towards their calf. (8.99.6).

anu iyatuh: *anu i* is slightly different from *anu dā*; the latter signifies weakness in the presence of a superior

१९. अस्मौ अच्छा सुमतिवौ सुमस्ती । आ धेनुस्त्रिव धावतु ।
 २०. उत्त त्याने मम स्तुती वाथाय प्रतिहृष्टंते । गोष्ठ गाव इवात ।
 २१. तमापो अन्यनयत वत्म संसिश्वरोरिव ।
 २२. ते जानत स्वमोक्य स वत्सासो न मातुनि । मियो नसन्त जामिनि ।
 २३. अभि वत्स न स्वत्सरेषु धेनवः इन्द्र गोमिनेवामहे ।
 २४. अनु ते शुम्प तुरयन्त्मोपतुः धोणो शिमु न मातरा ।

power, while the former suggests 'fondness, indulgence', though 'yielding' is common to both.

25. The inspired poets have invitingly applauded Indra for (receiving) a draught of Soma, as the mother cows do their calf (for a draught of milk). (9. 12.2.).

abhi anūṣṭāt: See on No. 14 above.

26. The roaring juices flow lowingly towards (the strainer), as the lowing milch-cows hasten towards their calf. They have run between the arms (of the pressing priests). (9.13.7).

vāśrāh dhenavāh: See on No. 1 above. Supply *vāram* *avayayam* as the object of *arṣanti* (from 9.13.6), corresponding to *vatsam* in the simile.

27. May our hymns invigorate him alone as do the cows with a calf their young one. (9.61.14).

tam refers to Indra. *saṁśīvarīḥ*: See on No. 21 above.

28. The Soma drops full of sweetness have glided forth towards the god i.e. Indra, as do the milch-cows towards their calf. (9.68.1).

gāvāh dhenavāh as at No. 15 above.

29. The hymn is fixed (on the tongue) as an arrow is on the bow; (the Soma) is released (towards Indra), as a calf is towards the udder of its mother. (9.69.1).

Indra is compared with an *urudhārā gau* in the same stanza, as also in some other passages. *upa stj*, usually used of Soma, suggests that *vatsa* is meant as an *Upamāna* for Soma.

30. The easily milked ghee-dropping roarers of *Rta* (i.e. the Waters), approach him (i.e. Soma), as do the cows (their calf), with their milk. (9.77.1).

The reference is to the adulteration of the juice with waters. The word *payasā* shows that *dhenavāh* here does not refer to the milk-streams as elsewhere, but to the real milch-cows and hence *vastam* is to be supplied in the simile, corresponding to *im. vāśrāh dhenavāh*: See above on No. 1. *payasā*: See below Nos. 31 and 38.

२५. अभि विदा अनूपत गावो वत्मं न मातरः । इन्द्रं सोमस्य पीतये ।

२६. वाथा अप्यन्तोन्दवोऽभि वत्मं न धेनवः । दधन्विरे गनस्त्योः ।

२७. तमिद्युपेन्दु नो गिरो वत्मं समिश्वरोरित्व ।

२८. प्र देयमच्छा मप्यमल इन्द्रोऽग्निप्यदन्त गाव वा न धेनवः ।

२९. यत्मो न मातुरुस्तम्पूपनि ।

३०. अनीमवस्य मद्या पवद्यनो वाथा अर्यन्ति प्राप्तेन धेनवः ।

31 The drops full of the sweet fluid, the waves, approach Indra the wielder of the Bolt, as a milch-cow does her calf with her milk (9 86 2)

Supply *arṣanti* to complete the sentence *payasa* See No 30

32 The thundering Bull of abundant gifts has well united with the waters, as does the lowing calf with its mothers (9 93 2)

For the simile see above No 22 *vavasano* is to be construed with both *vṛṣā* and *sīsuh*. *vavasanah sam dadhanve* is the common term

33 The hymns swelling (with sacrificial gifts) and following Rta, have greeted Indu as do the milch-cows (their calf) at the milking stalls (9 94 2)

pinvānah and *abhi vavasre* are to be construed with both the *dhīyah* and *gavah*. They constitute the common term *svasare* See on No 7 above

34 They (i e our hymns) lick him (i e Soma) as do the mother cows their newly born calf in their early life (9 100 1)

purve ayuni The early life of the cow is meant, the cow is supposed to be more fond of her first born calf and is called *grṣṭi matayah* are compared with *matarah*, see No 35 and also above No 12 *rihanti* Like the root *vās* this root conveys motherly affection of an animal towards its young one See above No 6

35 The guileless mothers (i e our hymns) lick you, the golden one, (while you pass) through the strainer, as the milch cows do their newly born calf (9 100 7)

matayah are here identified with *mātarah*, see above No 34 where they are compared with them It is however, more likely that in that passage *matarah* stands primarily for the *Upamāna*, but is also meant to be understood as standing for the *Upameya* (by Word Economy), namely the hymns

36 Unite the god devoted stimulating Soma, which wins the household property (for us) (with the steams of milk), like a calf with its mothers (9 104 2)

३१ धेनुर्वं वत्स पयसामि वर्जिणमि द्रमिन्दवो मधुमत्त ऊमय ।

३२ स मातभिन्नं शिशुर्वाचशानो वृपा दधन्वे पुरुषारो अदमि ।

३३ विष पिन्चाना स्वसरे न गाव रुतायन्तीरभि वावथ इन्दुम् ।

३४ वत्स न पूर्वं आयुनि जात रिहन्ति मातर ।

३५ त्वा रिहन्ति मातरो हर्षि पवित्र अद्वृह । वत्स जात न धेनव ।

३६ समी वत्स न मातृमि सृजता गयसाधनम् देवाथ्य मदम् ।

Mātrbhih Supply gobhih as the Upameya, cf 9 104 4 and also 9 6 6 gayasādhanam Soma is called gayasphanah at 1 91 12

37. Being urged, Indu is anointed (by the cows i.e. streams of milk) as the invigorating drink devoted to the gods, well decorated by our hymns, as a calf is (with milk) by its mothers (9 105 2)

Supply gobhih corresponding to matrbhih, very likely sam ayate is conceived as the common property with its double signification 'is anointed' and 'is urged' See 9 6 6, 9 32 3, 9 72 1 matibhih pariskṛtah See 9 43 3, 9 86 24

38 They i.e. the other rivers, approach you (with their waters), O Sindhu, as the mother cows, as the lowing milch-cows, do their young one with their milk (10 75 4)

Here too, as in No 3 above we have only one simile in spite of the repetition of the Vācaka (na-iva). The repetition is meant to give equal prominence to the subsidiary Upamāna i.e. payasā, which is of course meant with its double signification. The water of the tributaries of Sindhu is compared with the milk of the mothers anyah āpah is to be supplied as the Upameya corresponding to dhenavah

39 The (worshipper's) hymn has approached me as the lowing cow does her dear young son (10 119 5)

putram is secondarily used for a calf, vasra shows that a cow is meant

40 May your mind run after me as a milch-cow does after her young one (10 145 6)

41 Like a happy lowing (milch-cow) giving her milk to her calf may Savitr come down to us (10 149 4)

sumana and duhānā are both meant to stress the emotions suggested by the simile

३७ स वत्स इव मातृभिरन्दृहिन्वानो अज्यते । देवावीर्मदो मतिभि परिष्कृत ।

३८ अभि त्वा सिन्ध्यो शिशुभिन्द मातरो वाशा अर्पन्ति पयसेव धेनव ।

३९ उप मा मतिरस्यित वाशा पुनभिव त्रियम् ।

४०. मामनु प्र ते मनो वत्स गोरिख धावतु ।

४१. वाशेव वत्स सुमना दुहाना अभि तो न्येतु सविता ।

III Father and Son

1 Such as you are, O Agni, be easy of approach to us, as a father is to his son (1 1 9)

2 When now will you hold us in your hands, as the father does his (new born) son, O all-popular Maruts? (1 38 1)

Supply *nah* as the object of *dadhidhve hastayoh* Cf No 17, and also Nos 35, 43 below

3 The victors who may listen to his command have willingly adopted his wise counsel as the sons do of their father (1 68 9)

The victors are the gods, the deity who is compared with the father is Agni

4 Our men have variously worshipped you in many places, they have distributed you among themselves as (the sons) do the property of their age-worn father (1 70 10)

Agni is thus addressed

5 Being called upon, do please listen to us like a father i.e. as a father does to his sons (1 104 9)

It is Indra who is here compared with a father

6 We call upon you (i.e. Indra) for the acquisition of a prize, as the sons do upon their father (1 130 1)

7 The sporting gods, the challengers (i.e. the Maruts), playfully move about at the sacrificial assemblies holding very near them (i.e. on their bosom) their sweet fluid (i.e. the rain), like one's own son (1 166 2)

The unfailing association of the Maruts with the rains is thus suggested by the simile

8 Agni the frequent invoker (of the gods), is the foremost and (easy to call) like a father (2 10 1)

johutrah is active in sense, cf. WK II 2, p. 707 The affix *tra* usually expresses an agent or an instrument Supply *suhanavah* as the common term in the simile

१ स न पितेव सूनवे अग्ने सूपायनो भव ।

२ कद्म नून कथप्रिय पिता पुत्र न हस्तयोदधिव्वे ।

३ पितुर्नं पुत्रा क्रतु जुपत्तं श्रोपन् ये अस्य शास तुरास ।

४ वित्वा नरं पुरुषा सपयन् पितुर्नं जिव्रेवि वेदो भरन्त ।

५ पितेव न शृणुहि हृयमान ।

६ हृयमहे त्वा वयं पुत्रासो न पितरं वाजसातये ।

७ नित्यं न सून मधु विश्रत उपं त्रीळन्ति त्रीळा विदथेषु धृष्वय ।

८ जोहन्त्रो अग्नि प्रथमं पितेव ।

9 Since you have guided me as a father does (his son) who is addicted to gambling, I have all alone expiated for most of my guilt (2 29 5)

Varuna is meant as the subject of *sasasa*, stern guidance is suggested by the simile

10 I have bowed down to you, O Rudra, who are approaching me, as the son does his greeting father (2 33 12)

Rudra is here compared with a father who approaches his son, bowing down to show to his son how to greet an approaching elderly person, by his own example. The word *kumāra* shows that the boy is yet to be initiated and to learn good manners. The word *prati* in *prati nanama* clearly shows that Rudra too like the father is in a bending, yielding mood. For the father and the son, both greeting one another, also mentioned in a simile, see 7 103 3cd

11 O well born Agni, lovingly accept my hymn of praise in person, like one's own son, like his birth (3 15 2)

tanvā in effect corresponds to *hrda* in *janma wa tanayam* we have the usual rhetorical dropping of the connecting termination, for giving an equal prominence to both i.e the *nitya tanaya* as well as his birth in the family, *tanayam janma* being virtually the same as *tanayasya janma*

12 (Indra) is pleasing, easy to call and the bestower of vigour (to his worshipper), like a father (to his son) (3 49 3)

13 With my sweetest hymn do I hold the skirt (of your gown), O powerful Indra, as the son does that of his father (3 53 2)

Holding the skirt of the garment suggests affectionate insistence on the part of the child and an indulgent attitude on the part of the father

14 The Gharma, serving the sacrifice has been seated on Agni, as the dearest son is on the lap of the father (5 43 7)

The difference of the cases between the Upameya (*agnim* with *a sad*) and the Upamana (*upasi*) deserves to be noted. For the simile also see below No 43

१ प्र व एको मिमय मूर्यागो यन्मा पितेव कित्व शशास ।

२० शुमारश्चत्वितर वन्दमान प्रति नानाम रुद्रोपयन्तम् ।

११. जन्मेव नित्य तनय जुपस्व स्ताम म अग्ने तन्वा मुजात ।

१२ पितेव चाह मुहबो वयोधा ।

१३ पितुर्न पुत्र सिचमारमे त इन्द्र स्वादिष्ठ्या गिरा शचीव ।

१४ पितुर्न पुत्र उपसि प्रेष्ठ आ धर्मो अग्निमृतयन्तसादि ।

15 The priests who have brought their offerings with a bow, have cleansed the very kind Agni, as men (i e the father) do their male child in their home (5 43 14)

vase Cf *vasatau* at 1 31 15 *sīsum* naturally refers to a new-born (*jātam*—*jāyamānam*) child, see Nos 16 and 17 below It requires cleansing and careful attendance

16 All gods applaud you with a common consent, O immortal (Agni), when you are being born, as (men) do their (male) child (6 7 4)

Supply *āyavah* in the simile, it stands for *pitā* both here and in the last Number

17 (Agni) whom they hold in their hand like a ring (*khadīn*), as (men) do their new-born male child (6 16 40)

In the second simile supply *ayavah* as in No 16 *haste
bibhrati* See above No 2

18 Agni is possessed of kind words for us and is easy to call like a father (6 52 6)

suśamsah primarily goes with *Agnih*, *suhavah* is the common term

19 When the priests with equal fervour and skill call him for a favour, as the sons do their father (7 26 2)

Indra is meant

20 Now indeed do I repeatedly call upon you, O Maghavan, (for) you are our providence like a father (7 29 4)

pramatih is the common term, cf 1 31 10 14

21 Being desirous of wealth I call upon Indra who is possessed of a good right arm and who holds his Vajra in his hand, as the son does his father (7 32 3)

22 Bring us wisdom, O Indra, as the father does to his sons (7 32 26)

— *kratu* is wise counsel born of experience, cf *kratuvida
dampati* at 2 39 2 Thus *kratum a bhara* is the common term

१५ सुशेष्य नमसा रातहृव्या शिशु मृजन्त्याप्यवो न वासे ।

१६ त्वा विश्वे अमृत जायमान शिशु न देवा अनि स नवन्ते ।

१७ आ य हस्ते न खादिन यिशु जात न विभ्रति ।

१८ अनि सुशसा सुहव पितेव ।

१९ यदी सवाध पितर न पुत्रा समानदक्षा अवस्ते हृवन्ते ।

२० अधाह त्वा मधवन् जोहृवीमि त्व न इन्द्रामि प्रमति पितेव ।

२१ रायस्कामो सुदक्षिण बज्जहस्त पुत्रो न पिनर हृवे ।

२२ इन्द्र त्रतु न आ मर पिता पुनेम्यो यवा ।

23 Accept us willingly (i e take us under you shelter) as a father does his sons (7 54 2)

24 Who (i e Br̥haspati) is a giver (of shelter, help) even from afar, like a father (7 97 2)
dātā is *vasvah* and is thus equivalent to a *pramati*

25 One of them, after croaking, approaches the other who greets him in return, as the son does his father (7 103 3)
 For *vadantam pitaram* see No 10 above

26 May he not be miserable, O Agni, but well brought up like the son in the home of his father (8 19 27)
durone ā Cf *vāse* in No 15 above

27 When you raise your war cry you collect together (the treasures of the enemy), immediately then you are invoked like a father (8 21 14)
nadanum kynosi Cf *nadanumān indrah* at 6 18 2

28 We choose that (favour) of you, O Sovereigns, which gives shelter to many, as the son does that (of his father) (8 27 22)
 Supply *pituh* in the simile cf No 30 below

29 Be agreeable to our heart when drunk, O Indu (and) very kind to us like a father to his son (8 48 4)

30 We have obtained your protection before, as (does a son) of his father (8 75 16)
 Supply *putrah* in the simile, see above No 19

31 Him we invoke whose grace is the sweetest to us like that of a father (to his sons) (8 86 4)

The speaker of the stanza is the followers of the poet, by *tyam vuram* is meant the poet's son Viṣṇapū Supply *putrebhyah* in the simile

32 Do you sing aloud to the self purifying Soma, decorate him with offerings, for the sake of glory as (the father) does his newly born male child (9 104 1)

२३ पितेव पुत्रान् प्रति नो जुपत्व ।
 २४ यो नो दाता परावत् पितेव ।
 २५ अख्खलीकृत्य पितर न पुत्रो अन्यो अन्यमूप वदन्तमेति ।
 २६ स्यादने न पापया । पितुर्न पुत्र सुमृतो दुरोण आ ।
 २७ यदा कृणोपि नदनु समहति आदित् पितेव हृयसे ।
 २८ वय तद्व सम्भाज आ वृूपीमहे पुत्रो न बहुपाय्यम् ।
 २९ या नो भव हृद आ पीत इन्दो पितेव सोम सूनवे सुशेव ।
 ३० विद्मा हि ते पुरा वयमने पितुपथावस ।
 ३१ उत त्य वीर धनसामूजीयिण दूरे चित्सन्तमवसे हृवामहे ।
 यस्य स्वादिष्ठा सुमृति पितुयथा ।
 ३२ पुनानाय प्र गायत शिशु न यज्ञे परिमूपत श्रिये ।

Supply *āyavah* or rather *pītā* in the simile, see No 15 above

33 Do you applaud the self-purifying Soma, they have sweetened him with offerings and praises, as (men) do their newly born male child (9 105 1)

See above Nos 31 and 32 *svadaya* like *pari bhūs*, means 'decorate' 'adorn' etc

34 The beloved one has dressed himself in a white garment (i e cow's milk), he deserves to be cleansed (i e decorated) by us like a dear newly born son (by his father) (9 107 13)

In the simile supply *pītra* corresponding to *vīpraih asma-bhūh* which has to be understood as the subject of *hīnvanti* in the second half of the stanza

35 He i e Indra, is the wielder of the daring Vajra (in his hands) as the father is of his dear son (10 22 3)

bhartā is the common term in the simile, it is associated with the genitive in one case and with the accusative in the other

36 We praise every one of the heroic deeds of him who has increased his own strength and might (for us), as a father does (for the sake of his son) (10 23 5)

In view of the Atmane Pada form of the root it is better to understand the *tavīs* and the *śavas* as those of Indra himself, accordingly both *asmabhyam* and *putraya* are to be understood for completing the sense

37 Do you take pity on us as a father does on his son and protect us even from your deadly weapon (10 25 3)

Supply *rakṣa* after *abhi*, cf 8 47 1

38 Do you at least once take pity on us, O liberal god, O Indra And do you become very kind to us as a father does to his son (10 33 3)

Supply *susevah* as the common term in the simile and also *sūnave* corresponding to *nah*

३३ पुनानमभि गायत शिशु न यशै स्वदयन्त मूर्तिभि ।

३४ आ हर्येतो अर्जुने अत्के अव्यत प्रिय सूनुने मर्ज्य ।

३५ मर्ता वज्रस्य धृष्णो पिता पूरमिव प्रियम ।

३६ तत्तदिदस्य पोत्य वृणीमसि पितैव यस्तविपो वृवृवे शव ।

३७ अधा पितैव सूनवे भूत्वा नो अभि चिद्धात् ।

३८. सकृत्सु नो मधवनिन्द्र मृत्याधा पितैव नो शव ।

23. Accept us willingly (i.e. take us under you shelter) as a father does his sons. (7.54.2).

24. Who (i.e. Bṛhaspati) is a giver (of shelter, help) even from afar, like a father. (7.97.2).
 dātā is *vasvāḥ* and is thus equivalent to a *pramati*.

25. One of them, after croaking, approaches the other who greets him in return, as the son does his father. (7.103.3).
 For *vadantam pitaram* see No. 10 above.

26. May he not be miserable, O Agni, but well brought up like the son in the home of his father. (8.19.27).
duroṇe ā: Cf. *vāse* in No. 15 above.

27. When you raise your war-cry you collect together (the treasures of the enemy); immediately then you are invoked like a father. (8.21.14).
nadanum kṛṇoṣi: Cf. *nadanumān indraḥ* at 6.18.2.

28. We choose that (favour) of you, O Sovereigns, which gives shelter to many, as the son does that (of his father) (8.27.22).
 Supply *pituh* in the simile, cf. No. 30 below.

29. Be agreeable to our heart when drunk, O Indu, (and) very kind to us like a father to his son. (8.48.4).

30. We have obtained your protection before, as (does a son) of his father (8.75.16).
 Supply *putraḥ* in the simile; see above No. 19.

31. Him we invoke whose grace is the sweetest to us like that of a father (to his sons). (8.86.4)
 The speaker of the stanza is the followers of the poet; by *tyam vīram* is meant the poet's son Viṣṇāpū. Supply *putre-bhyāḥ* in the simile.

32. Do you sing aloud to the self-purifying Soma; decorate him with offerings, for the sake of glory, as (the father) does his newly born male child. (9.104.1).

२३. पितेव पुत्रान् प्रति नो जपस्व ।
 २४. यो नो द्राता परावत्. पितेव ।
 २५ अख्ललीकृत्य पितर न पुत्रो अन्यो अन्यमुप वदन्तमेति ।
 २६. स्यादग्ने न पापया । पितुर्ने पुत्रः सुभूतो दुरोण आ ।
 २७. यदा कृणोपि नदनु सम्हसि आदित् पितेव हृयसे ।
 २८. वय तदः समाज आ वृणीमहे पुत्रो न वहुपाय्यम् ।
 २९. श नो भव हृद आ पीत इन्द्रो पितेव सोम सूनवे सुदोवे ।
 ३०. विद्मा हि ते पुरा वयमग्ने पितुर्यावस् ।
 ३१. उत त्य वीरं घनसामजीयिण दूरे चित्सन्तमवसे हृवामहे ।
 यस्य स्वादिष्ठा सुमति पितुर्यथा ।
 ३२. पुनानाय प्र गायत शिशु न यज्ञः परिनूपत श्रिये ।

racious to us, O Agni, when we approach you, and helpful friend to a friend, as parents to their son (3 18 1)

idhuh is conceived as the common term, *pitara* in place of expected *pita* is caused by metrical considerations. There does not appear to be any cogent reason for it otherwise. The simile supply *sūnave* corresponding to *nah*

se you the brave and the most liberal gods, who are of happiness (to their worshippers), as the parents their son for the sake of dear friendship (4 41 7)

us and in the following four similes *pitard* is a symbol (in place of *pitā*), corresponding to the two gods, the context *sambhu* is the common term, *sunave* applied to complete the simile

men, I speak to you, as a son does to his fathers

rength, O Asvinā, as the fathers do to their son

'enable me, give me strength', cf Nos 12 and 22

relatives, do you come to us, to our call, like attentive listeners, as the fathers do to their call (10 106 4)

putra (nom) and *putrā* (accus) are sympathetic induced by the former a *gāmīṣam* is the common *putra* and *havam* are to be construed as ob-

avoured you, O Indra, as the fathers do their dra (O Asvinā), with your wise counsels and s (10 131 5)

in a and the vocative *Asvina* in b the 2nd person form *avathuh*. Here by Word stands for both the nominative and the vocative stands for both the vocative and the accusative

सत्ये पितरेव साधु ।
पितरेव शम ।

पितरतम् ।
हवमागमिष्टम् ।
नि ।

39 As your most frequent bards we just here invoke that (chariot) of yours, O Asvina, as the sons do the easily invoked name of their father (10 39 1)

tam stands for *ratham* which is mentioned in the first half

40 We have brought and placed (this Soma) at your service, like his own son (at that of his father) (10 39 14)

Supply *upasthe* before *dadhanah* and *pituh* corresponding to *vam*, in the simile

41 The creatures invoke me as (the sons do) their father I distribute enjoyments to my worshipper (10 48 1)

Supply *putrasah* corresponding to *jantavah*

42 I (hastened to) the help of the Vetasus as the father does (to that of his sons) I subdued Tugra and Smadibha for the sake Kutsa (10 49 4)

Supply *upa agam* in *a* and *putrān* corresponding to *vetasūn* in the simile

43 Vadhryasva, worshipping you held you on his bosom as the father does his son, O Agni (10 69 10)

44 The inspired poets caress him with their hymns, as (men) do their (new-born) male child when there is a meeting of the waters and the sun (10 123 1)

Supply *āyavah* in the simile, cf Nos 16 and 17 above But the common term *rihanti* will have to be taken in a secondary sense of 'caress' Or else *mātarah* may be supplied and the simile may be taken as belonging to Section II (Mother-cow and Calf)

45 The two, unmoving and footless ones, hold (between themselves) the many-fold child which has feet and moves about, as they (i e the parents) do their own child in the lap of its parents (1 185 2)

pitroh the genitive in place of the expected nominative is induced by the following word *upasthe*, owing to the frequent association of the two words elsewhere

३९ शशवत्तमासस्तम् वाभिद वय पितुन नाम सुहृव हवामहे ।
 ४० एत वा स्तोम अकर्म न्यमृक्षाम नित्य न सूनु तनय दधाना ।
 ४१ मा हवत्ते पितर न जन्वोऽह दाशुदे विमजामि भोजनम् ।
 ४२ अह पितेव वेतसूरभिष्ये तुय कुत्ताय स्मदिभ च रन्धयम् ।
 ४३ पितेव पुनमविभृपस्ये त्वामग्न वद्यश्व सपर्यन् ।
 ४४ इममपा मग्ने सूर्यस्य शिशु न विप्रा मतिमी रिहन्ति ।
 ४५ भरि द्वे अचरन्ती चरन्त पद्मन्त गममपदी दधाते ।
 नित्य न सूनु पित्रोऽपस्ये ।

46 Be gracious to us, O Agni, when we approach you, and helpful as a friend to a friend, as parents to their son (3 18 1)

sadhuḥ is conceived as the common term, *pitara* in place of the expected *pitā* is caused by metrical considerations. There does not appear to be any cogent reason for it otherwise. In the simile supply *sunave* corresponding to *nah*.

47 We choose you the brave and the most liberal gods, who are a source of happiness (to their worshippers), as the parents are to their son for the sake of dear friendship (4 41 7)

In this and in the following four similes *pitara* is a sympathetic dual (in place of *pita*) corresponding to the two gods, Asvina, in the context *sambhu* is the common term, *sunave* is to be supplied to complete the simile.

48 O Lords of men, I speak to you, as a son does to his fathers (7 67 1)

49 Give me strength, O Asvina, as the fathers do to their son (10 39 6)

sikṣatam 'enable me, give me strength', cf. Nos 12 and 22 above

50 You are our relatives, do you come to us, to our call, like those who are attentive listeners, as the fathers do to their sons and their call (10 106 4)

Both *pitara* (nom.) and *putrā* (accus.) are sympathetic duals, the latter induced by the former. *a gamistam* is the common term, both *putra* and *havam* are to be construed as objects.

51 Both the Asvinā favoured you, O Indra, as the fathers do their son, you saved Indra (O Asvina), with your wise counsels and your mystic powers (10 131 5)

Supply *āvatam* in a and the vocative *Asvinā* in b, the latter in view of the 2nd person form *avathuh*. Here by Word Economy, *asvina* stands for both the nominative and the vocative, similarly *indra* stands for both the vocative and the accusative.

४६ भवा नो अम्ने सुमना उपेतौ सखेव सख्ये पितरेव साचु ।

४७ वृषीमहे सख्याय प्रियाय शरा महिष्ठा पितरेव शम ।

४८ अच्छा सूनुर्न पितरा विवक्षिम ।

४९ अश्विना पुनायेव पितरा मह्य शिखतम् ।

५० आपो वो अस्मि पितरेव पुत्रा शुष्टिवानेव हवमागमिष्टम् ।

५१. पुनमिव पितरावश्विनोमेन्द्रावयु काव्यदेसनामि ।

IV. Husband and Wife

1. These many thousand sisters (i.e. the rivers) render service to this bold Indra, as the women-wives (i.e. married women) do to their husbands. (1.62.10).

Supply patim in the simile; see the next number.

2. Our longing hymns embrace you who are also longing for them, O mighty Lord, as wives do their husband. (1.62.11).

In the last simile *durasyanti* is employed as the common term; that this *duvas* is inspired by passionate love is seen from the common property in this simile. *uśatir uśantam spṛṣanti* is the common term. See *hṛdi nispṛṣe* in No. 12 below.

3. Though he (i.e. Agni) has a flash which is difficult to tame, like that of innate wisdom, yet he is pleasing to all, as a (dutiful) wife at home (and in her lap) is to every (husband). (1.66.5).

jāyā is a relative term and so patye must be supplied. Cf. Nos. 11 and 12 below. *aram* is offered as the common term and is meant to convey 'pleasing attitude due to passionate eagerness'. *yonau* is double-meaning, as in VI 17.

4. The passionately eager maidens (i.e. the fingers), who live together, have warmly excited their passionate (and faithful) lord, as wives do their loyal husband. (1.71.1).

janayah is to be construed twice (by Word Economy); as the Upameya it means the fingers, while as the Upamāna it means the wives. For the first see 3.26.3; for the second see No. 7 below. *uśatir uśantam pra jinvan* is the common term.

5. Uśas releases (i.e. drops down) her (breast-) garment (for the sake of every man) like a bold smiling girl, as a charmingly dressed passionately eager wife does for her husband. (1.124.7).

Here we have to supply *visvasmai* (7.66.4) corresponding to patye in the simile. *uśatī ni riṇīte apsah* is the common term; cf. *āvir vakṣāmsi kṛṇuse* at 1.123.10 and the common terms in Nos. 11, 13, 14 and 15 below.

6. Agni who repeatedly bends down on the tawny ones, (i.e. the plants), like a personal decorator (on the person of the master),

१. पुरु सहस्रा जनयो न पल्लीदुर्वस्पन्ति स्वसारो अह्याणम् ।
 २. पर्ति न पल्लीरशतीरशन्त स्पृशन्ति त्वा शवसावन्मनोपा ।
 ३. दुरोक्षोचिः क्रतुर्न नित्यो जायेव योनावर विश्वस्मै ।
 ४. उप प्र जिन्वनुशतीरशन्त पर्ति न नित्य जनयः सनीळाः ।
 ५. जायेव पत्य उशती मुवासा उपा हृषेव नि रिणीते अप्सः ।
 ६. भूपन्न यो अधि वम्भूपु नम्नते वृद्येव पल्लीरम्येति रोख्वत् ।

approaches them roaring, as a virile person does his wives (1.140 6)

abhi eti is the common term, *roruvat* belongs only to the Upameya Agni.

7. Him (i.e Indra) indeed, who is most pleasing to touch, do the hymns of men passionately embrace as women-wives (do their husband, who is most pleasing to touch) among men (1.186 7)

Supply *patim* in the simile, *narām* also goes with *girah surabhīṣṭamam* is to be construed with both the Upamana and the Upameya *patim* (supplied) *nasanta* is the common term

8 May we unite, at least once, with your good graces, O Śatākratu, as virile persons do with their wives (2.16.8)

The word *patnīh* suggests that human husbands are meant by the word *vṛṣanah*, cf 1.179.1d

9 Like a royal husband with his wives, you happily live (with our hymns) (7.18.2)

Supply *girbhīh* in the main sentence, as suggested by the word *girah* in c. By the word *raja* a royal husband is meant, as seen from the co-relative *janibhīh*, cf Nos 12 and 15. *kṣeṣi* i.e *aram* *kṣeṣi* is the common term, see No 3 above

10 You prove yourself great (with Indra), O kindly Soma, as a wife does with her husband (9.82.4)

indre, corresponding to *patyau* is to be understood, Śāyana supplies *yajamāne*, perhaps even *vrjane* occurring in d is intended to be understood by the poet. *māhase jāyā* is regarded as great by the husband, cf 3.53.4, also *amahiyamānam jāyām* which irritates Indra at 4.18.13, which implies that *jāyā* is to be *māhīyamāna*, also see *patyau me sloka uttamah* at 10.159.3

11 May I completely release my person to you as a wife does to her husband (10.10.7)

Yami says this to Yama, *tanvam riricyām* like *ni* *ni* *ni* *apsah* (No 5 above) indicates a passionate surrender of the body.

७ तमी गिरो जनयो न पत्नी सुरभिष्टम नरा नसन्त ।

८ सहृद् सु ते सुमतिभि शतक्रतो स पत्नीभिर्वृपणो नसीमहि ।

९ राजेव हि जनिभि क्षेष्येव । पिशा गिरो ।

१० जायेव पत्यावधि शेव महसे ।

११. जायेव पत्ये तन्व रिरच्याम् ।

V Lover and Maiden

1 In the highest heaven, the great wonder-worker i.e Indra, has supported the two worlds as a fortunate lover does his two beloved ones (1 62 7)

Bhaga is the fortunate lover, comparable with a *marya* and *mena* is the beloved

2 Both the good worlds lovingly wait upon him, as the two good maidens do (upon their lover) (1 95 6)

josayete, the common term stands between the Upamana and its adjective. The two worlds are compared with two beloveds and Agni with their lover *mitram*, *maryam* or *bhagam* is to be supplied to complete the simile. For *josayete* cf *josayase* in No 7 and *josasva* in No 8 below

3 The sun closely follows the bright goddess Usas from behind, as a lover follows a lovely maiden (1 115 2)

rocamānam also goes with the Upamana *yosam*, *pascat abhi eti* expresses the physical act suggesting the passionate love in the heart of the lover *yosa* or *yosana* signifies a lovable girl, but not necessarily a marriageable grown up maiden especially when it is coupled with *marya* or *jara*

4 Uṣas drops down (lit releases) her (breast-) garment like a broadly smiling damsels (1 124 7)

hasra is 'one who indulges in a broad and bold smile'. The root is used of a *yosā* or *yosana* smiling in the presence of her lover, cf 4 58 8. At 1 23 10 Usas is called a *samsmayamana yuvatih* who discloses her bosom in front of (her lover) and our *hasra* is surely identical with her. Again at 1 79 2 the flashes of the lightnings are compared with benevolent smiling girls. Of the two roots *smi* and *has* the latter conveys an advanced stage of boldness when compared with that of a modest young maiden, who is capable of only a smile. On the other hand a married young woman who has become a mother in particular, is incapable even of a smile. It is for this reason that the motherly waters who tended Apam Napat are called *asmera yuvatayah* at 2 35 4

5 Awaken Purandhi, O Vayu, as a lover does his sleeping (beloved) (1 134 3)

१ मगो न मेने परमे व्योमन्त्रथारथदोदसी मुदसा ।

२ उमे भद्रे जोपयेते न मेने (अग्निम्) ।

३ सूर्यो देवीमुपस रोचमाना सर्यो न योपामन्येति पश्चात् ।

४ उशती मुवासा उपा हस्तेव नि रिणीते अप्स ।

५ प्र वोधय पुरन्धि जार आ ससतीमिव ।

Vāyu is requested to awaken the spirit of abundance with that full confidence with which a mature lover wakes up i e excites his beloved without any fear of offending the sleeping beauty¹ *sasatīm* stands for *sasatīm yoṣanam*, cf Nos 9, 17 and 18 below

6 Let me go down (i e become low) for you as a maiden does before her manly lover (3 33 10)

One of the two rivers says to Visvāmitra that she would help him to cross by becoming shallow and the simile is used to convey this idea *sasvacā* here means 'going down' and signifies 'a free passionate surrender of the body'. The difference between this and that of the *patnī* is that in the case of the latter there is a sort of compulsion, though a willing one, in view of the relationship between the husband and the wife

7 May you willingly accept our hymns as a bridegroom does a young maiden (3 52 3)

vadhuyu is a marriageable young man who is eager to have a bride, *yoṣā* here is a would-be bride *yoṣayāse* expresses the common property, see above No 2

8 Willingly accept that hymn of mine as a bridegroom does a young bride (3 62 8)

See No 7 above

9 Being full of confidence (about the success of my mission) I speak to Indra, the oft invited god, as a youthful lover does to a (beloved) maiden (4 20 5)

abhi manyamāno Cf No 5 above and Nos 17 and 18 below

10 Since when you were seen faithfully waiting on him (i e the sun) as a maiden does upon her lover, and not like one who goes away from him (7 76 3)

Evidently we have to supply *yoṣā* after the two participles *acarantī* and *yatī acarantī* a car signifies 'a faithful and loving following' and is a physical expression of the deep internal attachment which one feels for the other among the lovers. Pada Pāṭha separates *jarah* जरा which means *Uṣas* is compared with a lover and the sun with the beloved. This may sound a little unusual, but not impossible as No 9 above may show

६ मयायेव वन्या दाशवर्ते ते ।

७ जोपयास गिरदत्त न । वप्युरिव याप्यनाम् ।

८ ता ज्युपस्त्व गिर भम वप्युरिव याप्यनाम् ।

९ मर्यो न याप्यासन्ति मन्यमानाऽच्छा विवरिम पुरुहतमिन्द्रम् ।

१०. यतः परि जार इवाचरन्ती उपा दद्धो न पुन्यतोय ।

11 O you both gods, do you willingly accept my hymn as youthful suitors do a lovely maiden, do come down to our libations. (8 35 5)

The stanza is addressed to the Asvina who are compared with youthful suitors and the hymn, with a lovely maiden For *jusetham* see on No 2 above, for *kanyana* see on No 14 below

12 The cows have joyfully greeted you, (O Soma), as a young maiden does her dear lover (9 32 5)

gāvah as usual stands for the cow's milk which is added to the Soma juice *abhi anūṣata* corresponds to *accha vivakmī* in No 9 above and signifies a deep confidence in the loyal love of the other party *yosa* and *jara* are both described as having deep attachment to and confidence in one another, so that according to the context one of the two is presented as the subject and the other as the object of the sentiment of love

13 Here this Soma becomes seated in the midst of his human followers, going towards (his seat, i.e. the wooden vat) with full confidence as a lover goes to his beloved (9 38 4)

gacchan Cf *samgacchate* in No 15, *esi* in No 16 and *sarat* in No 17 below In the chief sentence supply *priyam yonim* (with a *sleṣa* as in No 17 below) from stanza 6 in the same hymn

14 The ten maidens joyfully greet you (O Soma) as a maiden does her lover (9 56 4)

yōṣanah are the ten fingers, they are first identified with maidens and then compared with a *kanya*, which word seems to have been used merely for the sake of variety in place of the usual *yōṣa* See *kanyana* in No 11 above, where the word *yuvasā* takes the place of a *jara* or a *marya*

15 He i.e. the Soma unites with the cows at the vats, going to their appointed place (to meet them) as a youthful suitor goes to his beloved (9 93 2)

The simile is irregularly expressed, though the meaning of the poet is clear, Soma is intended to be compared with a lover and the *Uṣriyās* (the milk-streams) with the beloved as elsewhere *niskrtam* therefore is *uṣriyanām niskrtam* Cf *patir janinām upa yati niskrtam* in 9 86 32 In both these

११ स्तोम जुवेया युवदेव कन्यना विश्वेह देवौ सवनावगच्छतम् ।

१२ अभि गावो अनूपत योपा जारमिव प्रियम् ।

१३ एप स्य मानूपीव्या विश्वौ सीदति गच्छन् जारो न योपितम् ।

१४ अभि त्वा योपणो दश जार न कल्यानपत ।

१५ मर्गो न योपाम्भि निष्कृत यन स गच्छते कलश उत्तिपामि ।

passages the *niskrtam* is fixed by the beloved whereas in *devasya devir upa yanti niskrtam* (9 69 4) and in No 21 below the *niskrtam* is fixed by the lover and is faithfully followed by the beloved. It is thus clear that in our passage *niskrtam* could not have been intended as the Upameya for *yoṣam* and so *tah* and *tasam* before *niskrtam* has to be understood. Really speaking, we should expect the instrumental form of *yosa* corresponding to *usriyabhiḥ*, but the presence of *abhi yan* in the immediate neighbourhood must have induced the accusative form *yoṣam*, besides the instrumental form of *yosa* does not seem to have been in vogue. Perhaps construe *tah tasam ca niskrtam abhi yan*

16 O Pavamana you the well praised drop go (to meet the cows in the vat), chasing away the enemies as lover goes to meet his dear mate (9 96 23)

The object of *esi* is *gah* supplied from the last stanza. Here *priyam* is an adjective used in place of a substantative

17 He 1 e Soma moved towards (the cows) as a lover does towards his beloved maiden as a bridegroom (towards his bride), in order to take his seat in the resting place 1 e the vat (9 101 14)

We have to supply *gah* as the object of *sarat*, corresponding to *yoṣanam* in the first simile and *vadhūm* in the second. *yonim asadam* primarily refers to Soma's settling down in the wooden vat yet secondarily in the context, the lap of the beloved is suggested, see V 3

18 Rouse up your parents as a lover does his fortune incarnate, namely, his beloved (10 11 6)

The parents are Heaven and Earth, rouse them 1 e 'excite them, enliven them, urge them to be favourable' *bhaga* is perhaps the same as *yonim* in No 17, of the later *bhagavati*

19 Many a youthful maiden becomes fully delighted with a covetable gift of her choice, brought to her by her manly lover. She becomes a blessed bride of his, when, being well decorated (with his gift), she of her own accord (openly) loves him as her friend among the people (10 27 12)

१६ प्रिया न जारो अभि गीत इन्दु वप्वन्नेषि पवनाम शनून् ।

१७ सरज्जारो न योपणा वरो न योनिमासदम् ।

१८ उदीरय पितरा जार आ भगम् ।

१९ कियतो योपा मयतो वधूयो परिपीता पन्यसा वार्येण ।

मद्वा वधूर्मवति यत् सुपेणा स्वय सा मित्र वनुते जने चित् ।

yoṣā becomes the blessed bride and openly chooses a lover as she likes. I take the stanza as an assertion and not as question.

20. (Go forth towards the waters), O Adhvaryu, with whom Soma feels delighted and exhilarated as a youthful lover does with lovable maidens. (10.30.5).

kalyāṇībhīḥ yuvatibhīḥ: Cf. 4.58.8.

21. And as soon as the tawny dice raised their voice, being sown (on the game-board), I unmistakably go to their appointed place, as a beloved (goes to that of her lover). (10.34.5).

jārasya is to be supplied in the simile; for *niṣkṛtam* see on No. 15 above. *jāriṇī*: The poet here compares himself with a woman who is madly and helplessly in love with her boy, with whom here the Akṣas correspond.

22. We have fashioned this hymn for you, O Aśvinā; we have placed it down for you as they do a maiden for her loving suitor. (10.39.14).

ni amṛksāma: Cf. *ni mamrje* at 7.26.3 (No. V. 3 above).

23. Who brings you to his home for nightly rest, O Aśvinā, as a widow does her brother-in-law, as a lovely maiden does her lover? (10.40.2).

sadhasthe kṛṇute (and not also *śayutrā*) is the common term and the next step in the course of wooing, after the meetings at the appointed place.

24. The bee brought in her mouth her honey to you, O Aśvinā, as a maiden brings with her mouth (i.e. by her word) the place of appointment to her lover. (10.40.6).

For the idea cf. 1.119.9 (*uta syā vā madhūman makṣikā rapat*). *madhu* seems to be compared with the *niṣkṛtam* and *makṣā* with *yoṣāṇā*, the common term being apparently *āśā bharata*. In the simile supply *maryasya* corresponding to *yuvoḥ*.

25. My hymns embrace the liberal Indra as (maidens) do a spotlessly dressed suitor. (10.43.1).

Supply *yoṣāṇāḥ* in the simile; *śundhyu* is a clean, spotless, tastefully dressed young suitor.

२०. यामिः सोमो मोदते हृष्टं ते च कल्याणीनिर्वतिभिर्न मर्यः।

२१. एमीदेवां निष्कृतं जारिणीव।

२२. एतंवां स्तोमं...न्यमृक्षाम योपणां न मर्ये।

२३. को वा सपुत्रा विचवेद देवरं मर्य न योपा कृष्टुते सवस्य आ।

२४. युवोहं मक्षा पर्यविना भृत्वासा भरत निष्कृतं न योपणा।

२५. अच्छा म इन्द्रं मर्यः...परिष्वजन्ते...मर्य न शुन्ध्युं मववान्मूत्रये।

26. Speak out auspicious things in every way, O bird, having visited us, as a powerful bull does, having approached the cows with calves (2.43.2).

śīśumatīḥ: The significance of this word is not very clear. Yet the mention of a *śīśu* suggested a family relationship and a paternal love, which is rarely seen among the animals. It also excludes the sex passion which is otherwise characteristic of a couple, whether human or otherwise.

27. O Indra and Varuṇa, do you become the lovers of this my hymn, as bulls become of a cow. (4.41.5).

pretārā is either from *prī* 'to love' or from *pra* and *to visit, copulate etc*

VI Friend and Friend

1 Speak to Brahmanaspati with a continuous hymn for the sake of obtaining old age (Speak to) lovely Agni as to a friend (1 38 13)

jarā is the natural old age which is often desired by the Vedic seers, cf 10 18 6 The common term in these similes is often dropped

2 The Bhrgus placed you among men, like a kind friend, for the sake of the celestial tribes (1 58 6)

sevam is conceived as an adjective of the Upamana, but it may even be construed as a common term

3 Fit to be tempted away like a kind friend among the people, the jovial one is seated right in the middle of the home (1 69 4)

sevah here stands for *sevah mitrah* and *ahūryah* (from ā hvr 'to tempt away') is meant to be the common term Every one is anxious to have a helpful friend exclusively to himself and for this purpose would try to tempt him by means of gifts and other means

4 You are brilliant, O Agni, (and) like a dear friend (1 91 3)

priyah is an adjective of the Upamāna and a common term like *sevah* or *ahūryah* has to be supplied

5 The kindling priest wins Agni (towards himself) like a friend (1 143 7)

The common term as in No 4 above has to be supplied

6 Whom (i e Agni) pious men eager to win cows have produced with their labour at the sacrificial session for the sake of the cows and water courses, like a friend (1 151 1)

Here too the common term has to be supplied

7 Since at that time your loyal worshippers of Purumidha, the Soma-sacrificer, placed you two in the fore-front, like friends, you found out for him (i e for Purumidha) wise counsel and resources (1 151 2)

Here and in No 15 below the Upamana *mitra* is used for human worshippers but everywhere else, it is used of a deity

१ अच्छा वद तना गिरा जराये व्रह्मणस्पतिम् । जर्मिन मित्र न दशतम् ।

२ दद्युष्ट्या भूम्यको मानुपेत्वा मित्र न शेव दिव्याय जन्मने ।

३ जनै न शेव आहूम् सत मध्य निपत्तो रथ्यो दुराणे ।

४ शुचिष्टवमसि प्रियो न मित्र ।

५ जर्मिन मित्र न समिधान रुद्ध्यते ।

६ मित्र न य शिष्मा गोषु गव्यव स्वाध्यो विदये अप्यु जीजनन् ।

७ यद्य त्यद्वा पुरुषीळहस्य सामिन प्र मित्रासा न दधिरै स्वामुव । अथ क्रु विदत गातुमचते ।

svābhuvah (by Word Economy) and *pra dadhire* may be construed as the common term in the simile *svabhuvah* primarily stands for the Upameya i.e priests loyal to the gods, *sominah* is an adjective of *purumudhasya*

8 For his sake (i.e of the worshipper) the Maruts who are the source of happiness shower his many regions with water, like benevolent friends (1 166 3)

hita literally means well placed, well inclined, *sudhita* is often used as an adjective of a *mitra*. Here and in similar other passages the word *hita* is to be taken as standing for *hitah mitrah* 'well established friend'. Cf *hite mitre* at 10 132 5 and *hitamitro rajā* at 1 73 3. *hita* can mean 'favourable or benevolent' only in a secondary manner

9 Brhaspati is difficult to restrain like an extremely pleased friend (1 190 6)

durniyantuh is the common term, in the simile the word means 'difficult to oppose' i.e for the enemy of the friend. The meaning of *mitra* here seems to border on the later meaning of the word in the parlance of the Arthashastra

10 (The gods sent) Agni (as a messenger), who is praiseworthy among the people, like a friend (2 2 3)

ksitishu prasasyam may be construed as the common term

11 That god Jatavedas, who has become fit to be supported among the god devoted men like a friend (2 4 1)

didhisayyo bhūt may be construed as the common term of the simile. This corresponds to the word (*ksitishu*) *prasasyam* in the last number (No 10)

12 The gods have established Agni among the human tribes, as those who want to settle down establish a dear friend (in the new locality) (2 4 3)

A friend is considered helpful in establishing new contacts and good relations among the new neighbours. See No 17

13 Knowing them well you surely go between the two beings, O Poet, as a friendly messenger goes between the two families connected through a bride (2 6 7)

८ उद्धन्त्यस्मै मरुतो हृता इव पुरु रजासि पयसा मयोभुव ।

९ (वृहस्पति) दुनिकन्तु परिप्रातो न मित्र ।

१० अग्नि मित्र न दितिषु प्रसाम्यम् ।

११ मित्र इव यो दिवियाप्यो नृदेव आदेवे जने जातवेदा ।

१२ अग्निं देवासो मानूपीषु विद्यु त्रियं पृथेष्यन्तो न मित्रम् ।

१३ वन्त्सूम ईप्स विद्वान्वन्मानया ववे दूतोजन्येव मित्र्य ।

dūto mitryah is *dutabhūtah mitrah* i.e. a common friend of the two families, working as a match-maker *antar iyase*. In the case of the *mitra*, he goes between the two families for establishing happy relations, so that these words may be construed as the common term.

14 Be gracious to us, O Agni, when we approach you, as a bosom friend to a bosom friend (3 16 1)

sakhā conveys greater nearness of relationship and equality between the two related ones, hence the word is used for both.

15 For they i.e. the priests have offered the sweet draughts strengthened by cow's milk, to you two, like friends, at the break of the dawns (3 58 4)

Here as in No 7 above the term *mitra* is used for the human worshippers. Here some word like *sevah* is to be understood to supply the common term in the simile.

16 The purifier Agni, well established like a friend, has shone in the midst of the human tribes (4 6 7)

sudhitah is primarily to be construed with *agnih* but also to be understood as the common term in the simile.

17 Such as you are, O Rbhūs, bestow on us abundance of wealth, as the intending settlers bestow friendship (upon the neighbours) (4 33 10)

For the same simile see above No 12

18 We win with the help of the Lord of the fields, as with that of an established friend (4 57 1)

For *hita* see on No 8 above

19 They anoint you with cow's ghee, as they do a well established friend, since you make the couple united in mind (5 3 2)

The reference seems to be to the *Vaivahika Agni*, which is kindled at the time of the marriage, according to Geldner. Anointing a friend is to decorate him with gifts.

20 Whom (i.e. Agni) the mortals have placed in the fore-front like a friend, by their hymns of praise (5 16 1)

१४ नवा नो अन्ने सुमना उपतो सत्वेव सत्य ।

१५ इमा हि वां गोकृजीका मधति प्र मित्रासो न ददुर्दो वग्रे ।

१६ अथा मित्रा न मुधित पावकोऽग्निर्दीदाय मानुपीपु विद्यु ।

१७ त रायस्पोप द्रविणान्वस्म धन शृणव थोमयन्ता न मित्रम् ।

१८ धीतस्य पतिना वय हितनेव जयामसि ।

१९ अज्जन्ति मित्र मुधित न गोभित्रद्वयनी समनसा हृणापि ।

२० य मित्र न प्रवस्त्रनिमत्तासा दधिर पुर ।

praśastibhir dadhire purah is the common term. Cf. No. 7 above.

21. Call upon them (i.e. the Maruts) since they go (to the worshipper) like old friends. Praise them with your hymn since they long for it. (5.53.16).

The adjective *pūrvān* suggests a close friendship of a long standing.

22. Whom the Bhrgus placed in the woods, the praise-worthy god of an uprising flame, like a well established friend. (6.15.2).

sudhitam is primarily meant as an adjective of *mitram*; but may serve as the common term.

23. Let us loudly praise the immortal Jātavedas, like a dear friend. (6.48.1).

pra śāṁsiśam serves as the common term; cf. Nos. 10 and 20 above.

24. Here is that treasure for you, O lovers of the sweet, offered by us (and sent) like a harbinger to a friend. (7.67.7).

This is addressed to the Aśvinā; the treasure is the offering. *pūrvagatvā* is comparable with the *mitrayaḥ dūtāḥ* (No. 13 above); he helps in establishing a close friendship between the two persons.

25. Being praised like a friendly guest, Agni is fit to be appreciated like a chariot. (8.19.8).

praśāṁsamānah is the common term; see above No. 23.

26. Whom (i.e. Agni) they sweeten owing to his lustre and who is like a well established friend to a pious worshipper. (8.23.8).

sūdayanta 'sweetened' i.e. made him favourable. *sudhitam* may be construed as the common term.

27. I praise your ancient god Agni, who is the winner of fields like a friend. (8.31.14).

kṣetrasādhasam is offered as the common term; it is to be understood in the light of Nos. 12 and 17 above, *kṣetra* being comparable with *kṣema* i.e. a peaceful home and living.

२१. यतः पूर्वो इव सर्वीरनु हृय गिरा गृणीहि कामिनः ।
 २२. मित्रं न यं सुधितं भृगवो दधर्वनस्तावोऽधर्मूर्धवशोचियम् ।
 २३. प्रप्र वयममृतं जातवेदस्त्रियं मित्रं न शतिष्पम् ।
 २४. एष स्य वा पूर्वगत्वेव सर्वे निविहितो मात्वा रातो वस्मे ।
 २५. प्रशांसमानो अतिविनं मित्रियोऽग्नो रथो न वेद्यः ।
 २६. य हृषा सूदवत्त इत् । मित्रं न जने सुधितमृतावनि ।
 २७. अर्मिं वः पूर्वे गिरा देवमीळे मित्रं न थोवसाधसम् ।

28 Be blissful to our heart when drunk and very kind as a father to his son, as a friend to a friend, O widely praised Soma, you who are wise (8 48 4)

susevah serves as the common term for both the similes

29 I praise your dearest guest, who is like a dear friend (8 84 1)

The common term has to be supplied. Perhaps *prasasyam* may be understood as suggested by the word *stuse*

30 You are pure (bright) like a friend and fit to be honoured with service like a noble person, O Soma (9 88 8)

such looks like a common term with a double meaning 'bright' and 'honest'

31 You are the food of the gods, O Indu, be the best finder of resources as a friend is to a friend (9 104 5)

32 Being the best food for the gods, O Indu, be for (increasing) our brilliance, as a manly friend is for his friend (9 105 5)

ruce bhava is the common term with a double sense of *ruc* 'brilliance' and 'glory'

33 Men produced with their arms Agni like a well established and actively helpful friend in the course of the days (10 7 5)

prāyogam and *hitam* both may be construed as the common term

34 Where is Indra heard about? Among what people is he heard today like a friend? (10 22 1)

The common term is to be supplied, perhaps *srutah* and *srūyate* may be construed as such

35 Who (i.e. Indra) completely spreads out his fame among men like a friend (10 22 2)

asāmi yasas cakre may be construed as the common term

36 Have you indeed come to us as a reliable friend for supporting us, O wide striding (Indra)? (10 29 4)

satyah is an adjective of *mitrah*, the common term is to be supplied

२८ श नो भव हृद आ पीत इन्दो पितेव सोम सूनवे सुशेव । सखेव सख्य उरुशास धीर ।

२९ प्रेष्ठ वो अतिर्थि स्तुपे मित्रमिव श्रिष्म ।

३० शुचिपृष्टवमसि प्रियो न मित्रो दक्षाय्यो अयमेवासि सोम ।

३१ इन्दो देवप्सरा असि सखेव सख्ये गतुवित्तमो भव ।

३२ इन्दो देवप्सरस्तम सखेव सख्ये नयो रुचे भव ।

३३ द्युभिहित मित्रमिव प्रायोग वादुभ्यामग्निमायवा जनन्त ।

३४ कुह श्रुत इन्द्र कस्मिन्नद्य जन मित्रो न श्रूयते ।

३५ मित्रो न यो जनेष्वा यशचक्रे असाम्या ।

३६ कन आग्न् । मित्रो न सत्य उरुगाय नृष्व ।

37. Bṛhaspati anoints the couple like a friend among the people. (10.68.2).

Bṛhaspati really joins his worshipper with cows, but this act of his is represented as the anointing of a couple and bringing them together as a friend does.

38. Thus is Agni praised by the mortals and their brave patrons who the pious ones are like well established friends. (10.115.7)

Here too the pious worshippers and their patrons are compared with *mitra*. *sudhītāh* is really an adjective of *mitrāsah* but may even be construed as the common term.

३७. जने भिनो न दम्पतो अनकित (वृहस्पति.) ।

३८. एवानिमन्तं सह मूरमिवंसु प्तवे सहसः सूनरो नृनि.
भित्रासो न ये मुपिता ऋतायव. ।

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N B Roman figures refer to the Mandala, among the Arabic ones the first refers to hymn, the second to the *rc* in the hymn

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DEITY-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE UPAMANAS.

N B Roman figures refer to the Section, Arabic ones to the Serial Number under that Section

Only those similes which pertain to the relationship of the worshipper and the deity are included in this list for Emotional Rupakas see Introduction para 9

- I *Matr* Agni 5, Aditi 6, Uṣas 9, Nadyah 2, 13
- II Dhenu Asvina 19, Indra 8, 18, 29, Uṣasanakta 17, Kṣetrapati 13 Maruts 9, 10, Savitr 41, Sindhu 5
- III Pitr Agni 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 14, 18, 26, 30, 46, Asvina 39, 40, 47, 48 49, 50 Adityas 28, Indra 5, 6, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 36, 38, 41, Bṛhaspati 24, Maruts 2, Rudra 10, Varuna 9, Vāstoṣpati 23, Soma 29, 37
- IV Pati Agni 4, Indra 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, Savitr 16
- V Marya Asvina 11, 22 23, Aksa 21, Indra 7 8 25 Indra Varuna 27, Soma 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20
- VI Mitra-Sakhi Agni 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, Asvina 24 Indra 34 35, 36, Kṣetrapati 18, Bṛhaspati 9, 37, Maruts 8, 21, Soma 29, 31, 32

Rajasthan (no 338, Fig 3) Within a circular arch can be seen two armed Lakulisa with his penis erect. He takes his seat in the *padmasana*, carries a staff (*lakula*) in the left hand, the right hand having been raised up above the right shoulder. The single neck lace (*ekavali*) round his neck and matted locks (*Jata*) on the head above have also been executed quite vividly. The utter absence of the citron fruit is an additional feature worth taking note of. The existing depiction of Siva's 28th incarnation is quite elegant and so also is the utter absence of curly hair³ on the head and *Śrivatsa* mark on the chest. The relief from Ajmer Museum may well represent Śiva as a perfect *Yogi*, carrying the well known emblems of *Lakulisa*.

IV *Gajendra Moksha*

The right hand side exterior niche of the *sabhamandapa* of 10th century Sasa Temple at Nagda (near Ekalingaji) preserves a rare relief wherein we find 8 armed Vishnu in *lalitasana*, below his seat appears his vehicle Garuda in human form. The weapons of Vishnu are almost mutilated, the depiction of a crocodile (*makara*) with its mouth agape, below the right knee of Vishnu and likewise an elephant, below his left knee recall to our mind the well known *Pauranic* theme of *Gajendra Moksha* in the mediaeval art of Mewar. This is quite a rare motif. Vishnu had rescued the *Gajendra* or the *Gaja Raja* from the clutches of the sea monster (i.e. the crocodile) as we notice in the famous Gupta relief from Deogarh. The Nagda relief under scrutiny (Fig 4) neither presents Vishnu flying in the sky nor depicts the elephant's leg actually caught hold of by the crocodile. This is suggested by the mere presence or carving of their respective figures on two sides. Even then the Nagda sculpture is of sufficient iconographic interest. It bears testimony to the popularity of the particular theme in Mewar during the mediaeval period. Not only this the door jamb of the sanctum of the same temple at Nagda also preserves a tiny figure of *Karti Varada*⁴ Vishnu though crudely executed in mediaeval style.

V *Terracotta Head*

It was in year 1964 that Mr B M S Parmar⁵ presented a beautiful terracotta head to Udaipur Museum. Found at Dhana varā (District Hardoi, U.P.), it is an elegant piece of the late-Gupta (5th century) period. The colossal head is preserved up to neck only and measures about 12' in height and 12' in width. The

3 In most of *Lakulisa* sculptures from Western India we also notice the depiction of *Śrivatsa* mark on the chest probably under the influence of Jain pantheon. Not only this, some of the Siva images too bear this auspicious mark.

4 I.e. *Gajendra Moksha* form of Vishnu. A photograph was not possible due to utter darkness here.

5 We are so much indebted to Mr Parmar for this exceptent present.

prominence of curls surmounted by a jutting out knot is clearly visible on the back of the head. The face is decorated with prominent eye balls, moustaches below the mutilated nose, long ears and circular mark on the forehead thus suggesting identification with a *Bodhisattva* head. Originally it must have decorated more than a life-size *Bodhisattva*⁶ statue in reddish baked clay besmeared with mica particles. The existing terracotta head has been vividly executed under the mighty influence of Gupta Art traditions.

VI Churning of Ocean

The problem of Churning of Ocean (*Samudra Manthana*) theme in Ancient Indian Sculpture has been discussed by A. K. Bhattacharya in *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris—France, VI (2) 1959, pp 121-134. The ancient sculptors of Rajasthan also made valuable contributions in this field and the earliest extant panel of this group from Rajasthan hails from the Sun Temple⁷ at Chittor (*Ibid*, fig 6 on p 127). Studied in a niche on the left exterior of the *sabhamandapa*, it may be dated towards the 8-9th century A.D. and it is hardly plausible to agree with A. K. Bhattacharya who assigns the Chittor relief towards 10-11th century A.D. The elegance of this panel is further enhanced by the depiction of *Ghata Pallava* motifs on both the sides of the niche. In the centre appears the octagonal column (i.e. *Man dara* mountain) supported by a tortoise with its neck raised up, on the top of *Mandara* appears a seated figure probably *Lakshmi* with hands folded in *anjali* pose. On both sides of the Churning stick appear a *Deva* [Siva here] and an *Asura* likewise holding the tail of *Vasuki* snake. The churning pot kept on the back of the tortoise is equally attractive the shape of vase here bears resemblance with that from Abaneri and datable to the 8th century A.D. It may also be remarked that the existing Chittor panel fails to present the *Dik Kunja ras* (Elephants of Quarters) supporting the Cosmic Tortoise as in panels from Badoh⁸ (*Ibid* fig 9) and Khajuraho (*Ibid*, fig 7).

The mediaeval Siva Temple at Kirađu (Jodhpur region) also presents a tiny relief in the above reference (R. C. Agrawala, *Mary* Bombay, XII (2) fig 3 on p. 47). Here the *Mandara* mountain is not surmounting a tortoise at all. Still more the mountain here is like a round pillar; to the right of it appears a single demon whereas the number of the gods (on the opposite side and holding the snake-string like-wise) comes to six. The latter are headed by elephant faced *Gapapati*. The utter absence of the churning pot and the tortoise in Kirađu relief is equally noteworthy.

⁶ May be *Maitreya* (?)

⁷ Popularly known as *Kelka Mata* Temple.

⁸ This is a rare relief indeed. Another of this type will be easily awaited from other parts of the country. The earliest extant representation of *Samudra Manthana* scene is available at Udayagiri in M.P.

During my exploratory tours in Mewar (Udaipur region) I discovered a fragmentary *Samudra Manthana* panel in the ceiling of the Entrance Porch of the Ambikā⁹ Temple at Jagat. This 10th century piece bears resemblance with a mediaeval relief from Haridwār (U.P.) and illustrated by V. S. Agrawala in *J.U.P.H.S.*, Lucknow, old series, 24-25, 1951-52, p. 203 and plate. In Jagat relief we see a demon to the right and the gods appear on the opposite side. The latter are headed by four armed Vishṇu as also in the Haridwar panel. The churning stick, the pot and the tortoise below are carved in an identical manner in both the reliefs but the number of gods in Jagat sculpture is twelve, six in the standing row and six seated below the snake-rope.

The subsidiary depiction of churning scene to mark the *Kachchhapāvatāra* in Vishṇu Sculptures and *Daśāvatāra* reliefs from Rajasthan is equally elegant. It is just possible that the aforesaid sculpture in Chittor Temple niche represents the independent representation of the Tortoise Incarnation on the exterior of the Sun Temple under reference.

VII. *Rāvaṇa* Uplifting *Kailāśa*

This theme is very well depicted in the art of Mathura and Ellora. One early-mediaeval *Rāvaṇānugraha* stone panel from Ābāneri- Rajasthan has been preserved in the Museum at Āmber, near Jaipur (R. C. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya¹⁰ Vidyā*, Bombay, 16 (3-4), 1956, pp. 53-4 and plate). Another specimen of this group is carved on the left exterior of Bahu Temple at Nāgdā, near Udaipur. In tiny niche here can be seen Śiva-Pārvatī seated in *Ālingana* pose whereas Rāvaṇa figures below their seat. The demon is lifting them on both his out-stretched palms. Moreover he is three faced instead of the usual ten faces. The existing relief is an important addition to *Rāvaṇānugraha* sculptures from Rajasthan.

VIII. *Kṛiṣṇa* Lifting *Govardhana* Mountain

The earliest extant depiction of Kṛiṣṇa lifting the Govardhana Mountain is to be noticed in the early-Gupta terracotta relief from Raṅgamahal and now in Bikaner Museum. Here Kṛiṣṇa's face is decorated with prominent moustaches under *Gandhāra* Art influences. The Gupta pillar at Mandora (now in Jodhpur Museum) also presents a vivid view of this story and covers a space measuring about 6' 8" in height; the peaks of the mountain are studded with wild beasts including a horse-headed Yakṣī which reminds us of

9. R. C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiatiques*, X (i), 1964, Paris, pp. 43-66 for this temple. The existing relief has not been illustrated therein. The entrance porch of the Sāśa Temple at Nāgdā (near Udaipur) also presents the *Samudra Manthana* theme in the mediaeval style.

10. Provenance is wrongly printed here. In this relief Rāvaṇa is shown in a dejected mood, suggesting his failure to shake the mountain.

similar depiction in the early art of Mathura and Sanchi (R C Agrawala *JASB*, Calcutta, 23 (1), 1957, pp 63-66) Thereafter *Krishna lila* scenes became available in sufficient quantity during the 8th art at Osian, near Jodhpur. The contemporary Pratihara site of Abaneri also yielded a stone relief depicting Krishna combating the horse demon Kesin (R C Agrawala *Lalit Kala*, nos 12, plate 53, fig 4) Recently I discovered another relief at Abaneri wherein Krishna can be seen lifting the Govardhana mountain on his left palm, below which appear the bulls and cows on one side whereas on opposite side are carved human figures representing the residents of *Vraja*. The existing niche must have decorated the exterior of 8th century *Harshat Mata* Temple at Abaneri. This is in fact the earliest extant *Govardhana dhara* relief from Jaipur unit of Rajasthan. One such relief can be seen, *in situ*, on the ceiling of *sabhamandapa* at Abaneri Temple itself.

IX Female Sculpture from Iswal

In front of the sanctum of 12th century Vishnu Temple at Iswal (13 miles from Udaipur) is studded a white marble statue of great iconographic interest (Fig 6) Measuring about 3 feet in height, the relief depicts the goddess standing in front of a caparisoned horse, she carries a shield and a bow in the left hands, a sword and an arrow appear in her right hands. The goddess is beautifully bedecked with various ornaments from top to bottom and wears a *karandamukuta* on her head above. The sculpture requires careful scrutiny by experts of Indian Iconography.

X Lakshmi Narayana

Sculptures depicting Vishnu and his consort in *alingana* pose are quite rare in the realm of ancient Indian Art. Such sculptures have been reported from Abaneri,¹¹ Khajuraho¹² and Allahabad¹³ regions. The Museum at Jhalawar, in Eastern Rajasthan also preserves a statue of the above variety (Museum No 102) wherein standing Vishnu carries the usual weapons in his 4 hands and clasps his consort which one of his left arms with equal response from her. On top above has been carved the miniature figure of seated and two armed Sun and likewise Brahma and Siva towards the sides above. The existing relief from Jhalwar Museum is an important addition to the Lakshmi Narayana statues in amorous pose and identified as *Kalyana sundara Vishnu* by Dr Sivaramamurti.

XI Mahishamardini

The depiction of goddess Mahishamardini in the early Indian art is quite fascinating. It was the stage when the artists did not

¹¹ Now in Amber Museum.

¹² O C. Ganguly and A. Goswami, *The Art of Chandellas* Calcutta, 1957 Fig 31

¹³ C Sivaramamurti, *JASB Letters* Calcutta XXI (2) 1955 Fig 7

carve the cut off head of the buffalo. This device was not strictly adhered to during the mediaeval period. During the transitional period (8-9th century) we also find a number of pieces wherein the goddess Durga is shown as four armed and twists the neck of buffalo such as at Elephanta and elsewhere. One 8 armed sculpture of this group from Jagat has been illustrated by me in *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris-France, X (1), 1964, fig 12 on p 61. In Rajasthan, one 8-9th century statue of four armed variety is under worship at Amjhara (Dungarpur) whereas the beautiful niche from Bundi-Kotah is now preserved in the personal collection of Sri R D Khanna¹⁴ at Jaipur. The Jhalawar Museum also preserves (Fig 11, Museum No 69) a beautiful niche wherein the goddess pierces the buffalo with a trident held in her lower right hand and twists the neck of the animal with her lower left hand. She carries a bell and a sword in upper left and right hands respectively. Here too the head of the buffalo demon is not seen cut off at all and that enhances the importance of the relief to a great extent. A similar statue is preserved in Dungarpur gallery as well (R C Agrawala, *Lalit Kala* No 10, plate XIX, fig 2). It may also be remarked that most of the early mediaeval Mahishamardini statutes of four armed variety from Rajasthan depict the above weapons in the hands of the goddess though with a light modification sometimes i.e. a shield instead of a bell, other weapons being the same and in the same order.

A passing reference may also be made to the extra-ordinary niche on the exterior of the *sabhamandapa* of Ambika Temple at Jagat (near Udaipur). Facing east, this niche presents the eight armed goddess combating the demon shown in full human form¹⁵. There is utter absence of the buffalo head or even the horns thereof. In one respect it is an improvement on the famous hybrid forms of demon available in the art of Bhubaneswara, Mahabalipuram¹⁶ and Ellora¹⁷ (K M Munshi *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, Bom bay plates 146, 84 and 83 respectively). At Jagat was do not have the horns of demon in full human form even in the four armed panel on the exterior of the *Tirthodaka* Temple. This depiction of Devi (8 and 4 armed) fighting with Mahishasura in complete *Purusha* form at Jagat is quite rare in the realm of Indian Art pro-

¹⁴ In his private collection is also preserved a beautiful terracotta plaque from Keshoraya Patan (Bundi) and datable to the Gupta period. The curly hair on the head and the typical heavy necklace remind us of identical specimens from Pawaya, Nagari etc.

¹⁵ Here the demon is endowed with a buffalo's head and human body.

¹⁶ As above.

¹⁷ Full human form but the human head has horns of a buffalo. This is an important *Rashtrakuta* device at Ellora.

bably carved under the influences from Rāshṭrakūṭa¹⁸ country. Still more the mace, in one of the hands of *Devi* in Jagat reliefs under scrutiny, also bears close resemblance with that depicted in South Indian¹⁹ Sculpture.

The above unpublished sculptures from Rajasthan have therefore an important bearing on contemporary Indian iconography.

Photographs

Courtesy Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan. I am thankful to Dr. Satya Prakash and Mr. D. N. Sharma for the same, Nos. 1 to 4, by R. C. Agrawala.

- 18. The Museum at Gwalior preserves a life size statue of Mahishamardini from Besnagar wherein the multi-armed goddess stands on the head of a buffalo in *samapādasthānaka* pose as in South Indian sculpture. Art contact from the south is quite evident here as well.
- 19. During my recent visit to the 12th century Silva Temple at Menal (Mewar), I noticed an interesting niche on the exterior left of the sanctum. It preserves a statue wherein goddess Mahishamardini can be seen fighting a "demon shown in complete human form." The relief is of course crudely executed. The specimens at Jagat are of superb workmanship.



Fig 1 *Yoga Narayana* from Abaneri (Rajasthan) 8th century A D

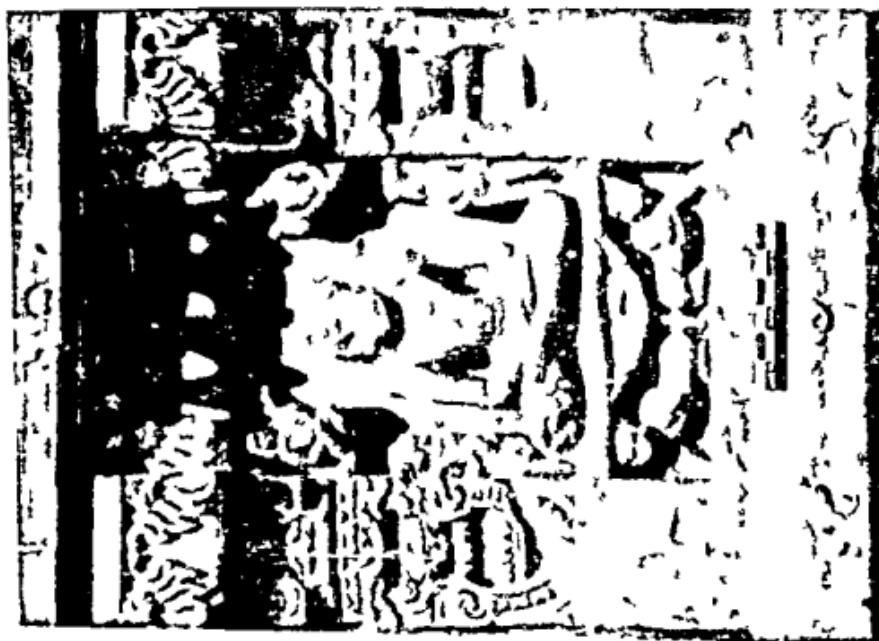


Fig 3 *Lakulisa* from Kusamā (Sirohi) nom No 338 of Rajputana Museum at Ajmer

Fig 4 Gajendra Moksha Panel exterior of Sasa Temple at Nagda 10th century



Fig 2 Vishnu's Buddha Incarnation Harihara Temple at Osian 8th century A.D



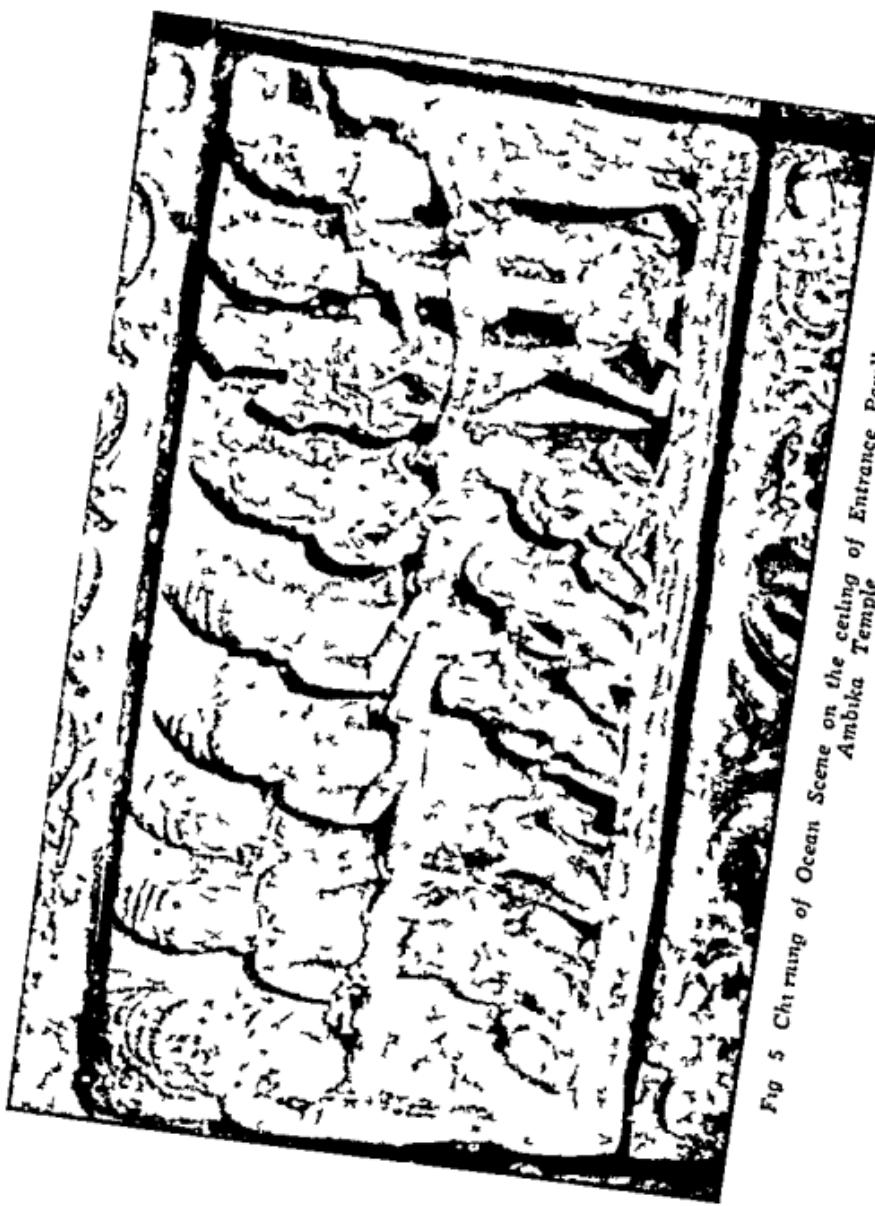


Fig. 5 Chitrunga of Ocean Scene on the ceiling of Ambika Temple of Entrance Pavilion at Jagat



Fig. 6 Goddess from Iswal (Udaipur) white marble

SYĀDVĀDAMUKTĀVALĪ
OR
JAINAVIŚESATARKA
OF
ŚRĪ YĀŚASVATSĀGARA

By
S A UPADHYAYA

INTRODUCTION

I The text of the *Syadvadamuktāvalī* (also known as *Jaina-visesatarka*), which is published here for the first time, is critically edited from the only extant manuscript, bearing no 736/1899-1915, belonging to the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona¹

II The manuscript comprises three folios, each of the size $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$. The paper of the manuscript is thin, country-made and yellowish grey in colour. The edges of all the three folios in the manuscript are slightly worn out. Besides three small holes, two slightly bigger holes are found in the upper right hand margin of the first folio. Few letters in the left hand part of the lines 2, 3 and 4 on folio 1 obverse have been rendered undecipherable as a result of three small bits of paper having got stuck fast thereon. On the whole, the condition of the manuscript is fairly good.

The edges of the folios are ruled by a single red line, and the borders of the text are marked by three red lines. The ruling is fairly uneven.

Pages 1a, 1b and 3a have fifteen lines each and page 3b, the last page, has only six lines. Each line has 38-41 letters

¹ Kapadia H R, Cat, Vol XVIII, Part I, Poona, 1952, p 11. Herein the details of the MSS. are given as under

Size— $10\frac{1}{4}$ in by $4\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Extent—3 folios

Description—Country paper thin and grey Jaina Devanagari characters small

legible and very fair hand-writing borders ruled in three lines and edges in one, in red ink, edges of the first two foli, slightly worn out, condition good, complete so far as it goes.

Age—Old

The text is written in Jaina Devanāgarī characters. In particular, the palaeography of the letters *na*, *tha*, *bha* etc., of the conjunct letters *ja*, *la*, *stha*, *sta* etc and of the numerals 4, 7, 9 etc in Devanāgarī, reveal the characteristics of the Jaina script. The handwriting is small, legible and quite fair.

Folio 1a begins with the *bhale* symbol and ends with *priti-mavāpa ka* (I 18b), folio 1b ends with *pramanatvā* (II 5b), folio 2a ends with *manahparyāya* (II 18d), folio 2b ends with *pratyabhijñāna* (III 5a) and folio 3a ends with *pradistau* (III 19c). The three *stabaka*s are spread over 1a-1b, 1b-2b, 2b-3b respectively.

The word *Jainavisesatarkah* in line 2 on page 1a is underlined in different ink. The colour of the ink indicates that the underlining is done quite recently probably to facilitate the reference to the title of the work. The manuscript, thus appears to have been used by more than one person.

At the top of the right hand margin on page 3b, the words स प्र ६७ are written. Probably, the present text was one of the many texts copied by the scribe. स प्र may indicate संक्षिप्तप्रकरण and ६७ may indicate either the running page number or the number of the text in the whole manuscript. There is no evidence in this manuscript to corroborate this conclusion.

On the last page, in a slanting manner, the words ઇતિ જૈનવિદ્યા (એ) પતક પ્ર 120 (in Gujarati numerals) are written in pencil. The calculation is wrong. The text, as available, is of about 91 *grantha*s.

III In the absence of the usual colophon at the end of the text, it is difficult to ascertain the exact date of the manuscript. The condition of the manuscript indicates that it must be at least two hundred years old.

IV No detail about the scribe is available from the manuscript. The mode of the Devanagari characters reveals the scribe to be a Jaina. The corrections in the lines I 3b, I 19a, II 6d, the cancellation of the whole line in II 25d, the wrong spellings viz *nirasa* (*sa*) in I 10d, *śi*(*si*)*te* *śi*(*si*)*tam* in II 6b, *mṛtpīḍah* (*dah*) in II 11d, *satve* (*ttve*) in III 9b, *damu*(*mū*)*nomānayam* in III 14a etc, the omission of letters in I 18, I 24, II 5, II 14, III 12, III 25, the non-observance of the *parasavarnantyama* and indifference to the rules of *samdhī* in a few cases, indicate that the scribe lacked professional diligence and care. The last line of the text is, probably, written in great hurry, the scribe leaves out 2½ lines for the readers to supply from the verse occurring earlier, the last line has three letters omitted and is extended in the margin though more than half of the page is just blank. This corroborates the inference that the scribe is a mediocre one.

V The author of this work Yasavatsāgara (also known as *Jasvantasagara*—JSSI para 962) is completely reticent about himself in his works. Details about the date and place of his birth, his childhood and education, his initiation as a monk and about his last days are not available. His works, however, reveal a few traits of his personality.

He belonged to the *Sagara saṅkhā*² of the *Tapāgaccha*. He was the pupil of Śrī Yasahsagara³

Jinaratnakosa,⁴ while recording the details of the *vartika* on *Grahalaghava* refers to Yasavatsagara as the pupil of Kalyānāsāgara, pupil of Caritrasagara of the *Tapāgaccha*. The *prasasti* from which the details are incorporated, appears to be incorrect. Elsewhere *Jinaratnakosa*⁵ refers to Yasavatsagara as the pupil of Yasahsagara.

Though belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect, he has discussed only those principles which are accepted by both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. He has not attempted to refute any other school of philosophy.

Being a resident of Gujarat, the author revered, in particular, Sankhesvara-Parsvanātha cf. प्रणम्य शत्स्वरपाश्वनाथम् at I 1, श्रीशत्स्वरपाश्वजिनो जयतु at the commencement of his copy of *Kalpasūtra-Kiranāvali*:

Being modest, he refers to his teachers in respectful terms particularly to Śrī Caritrasagara. He considers himself very fortunate in having for his teacher Śrī Caritrasagara from whom he acquired the three gems' viz *jñāna*, *darsana* and *caritra*. Cf

चारित्राश कलौ भरि भाग्यमाजा सुदुलम् ।
अस्मद्भूत्यादयादाप्तो गुरुश्चारित्रसागर ॥

—JSM I 88

दर्दाति सेवया सम्यक् सागर सागरोद्भवम् ।
मया रत्नत्रयं प्राप्तं गुरुश्चारित्रसागरात् ॥

—JSM III 36

The author, being devout, wrote for his own reading and use, the text of *Kalpasutra* alongwith the commentary *Kiranāvali* (also known as *Kalpavyakhyānapaddhati* or *Kalpakiranāvali*) of Dhar-

2 Of the many *sakha*-s of the *Tapāgaccha* viz *candra*, *ratna* *vijaya* *vimala* *sāgara*, *sundara* and *soma*, only three—*vijaya* *vimala* and *sagara* are current to-day.

3 Cf I 2a and colophon II 2a and colophon III 25 JSM I 89 and colophon II 77 and colophon, III 37 and colophon IV 43 and colophon JS, p 31 stanza 2 and colophon in the foot note

4 P 113

5 Pp 113 145 159 (145), 269, 296, 320, 416, 457

masagaragani, the pupil of Hiravijayasuri The writing was completed on V S 1721, Śukla 8, Śrāvana Cf

प्रणाय प्रणतारोपवीर वीरजिनव्वरम् ।
 स्ववाचनकृते कुञ्जे वल्पव्यात्यानपद्धतिम् ॥⁶
 शिष्यण कल्पकिरणावलिनामवत्ति—
 व्यारयानवाचनकृते च शिष्पोकृतेय ।
 पीदपनानुयुगल्पिमही (1721)मिते (5) व्वे
 शुक्लाष्टमाशुभदिने नमस श्रिय (5) रुतु ॥
 श्रीकल्पसूत्रटीकापुस्त पुण्यायमात्मन पूणम् ।
 लिखित यशस्वत्सागरगणिना मुखकारण कृतिनाम् ॥⁷

He must have studied Logic and Nyaya philosophy His thorough grasp over Nyaya in particular may well be inferred from his exposition of the tenets of Nyaya in simple but lucid language His works—*Bhavasaptatika* *Grahalaghavavartika* and *Yasorajapaddhati*—lead us to infer that he also studied Astronomy and Horoscopy

He has referred to *Karmagrantha*⁸, *Kairavakarakaumudi*⁹, *Tattvarthasutra*¹⁰ *Tarkasamgraha*¹¹ *Navataitvagatha*¹² *Pramanana-yatattvavlokai*¹³, *Ratnākaravatarika*¹⁴, *Syadvadamanjari*¹⁵ as well as to *Samantabhadra*¹⁶, *Siddhasena* *Divakara*¹⁷ *Haribhadra*¹⁸ etc He has also quoted lines from *Anyayogavyavacchedadvatrissikapadya* (by Hemacandra)¹⁹, *Punyadhanakatha*²⁰ *Prameyaratnakosa*²¹, *Vitaragastotra*²², *Sadava-yakabhaṣyagatha*²³ etc His vast reading, thus, is unambiguously evident

The author himself has declared his indebtedness to Vadideva-sūri Cf

स्याद्वादसुखवोधाय प्रक्रियय प्रतिष्ठिता ।
 विधाराम्बुधिवोधाय दवसूरिक्वचोनुगा ॥²⁴

6 Kapadia H R Cat. Vol XVII Part II(a) Poona 1936 p 103

7 Ibid p 107 Dr K P Jog (Centre of Advance study in Sanskrit Poona) who examined this MSS at my request writes to me that the MSS is carefully written in uniform characters This indicates that the author's handwriting must have been quite good

8 Cf JS pp 14 19

9 Cf JS p 4

10 Cf JS pp 14 15

11 Cf JS p. 24

12 Cf JS pp 12 13 14 15

13 Cf JS pp 16 21 22 23

14 Cf JS p 28

15 Cf JSM IV 11

16 Cf JSM IV 40

17 Cf JSM IV 39

18 Cf JSM III 5 JS p 23

19 Cf JS p 26

20 Cf JS p 14

21 Cf JS p 30

22 Cf JS p 27

23 Cf JS p 15

24 Cf JSM IV 44

अहं वीजं मावतश्चाभिवन्द्य सम्यग्विद्यासद्गुरुं मद्गुरुं च ।
श्रीमद्देवाचार्येवयोक्तियुक्त्या स्याद्वादस्य प्रक्रिया वाचदामि ॥२३

His presentation of the subject of Nyāya in the form of poetry reveals him as a poet.

VI. During the forty-one years of his literary career Yaśasvat-sāgara wrote many works. Fifteen of his works are known to-date. They are:

1. *Grahalāgharavārtika*²⁶, a commentary on *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa, composed in V.S. 1760 (= 1704 A.D.).
2. *Jainatarkabhāṣā*, a work in Logic, composed in V.S. 1759 (= 1703 A.D.).
3. *Jainīsaptaḍārthī*, an introductory text-book in Nyāya, composed in V.S. 1757 (= 1701 A.D.). *Jinaratnakosa*²⁷ refers to this work as *Saptapadārthī*. JSSI²⁸ refers to this work as *Jaina Saptapadārthī*. This work has been edited by Muni Himāṁśuvijaya and published from Ujjain in 1934. According to the colophon of the manuscript *ka* printed as foot note no. 1 on p. 31 of the printed edition, the title of the work is *Saptaḍārthī*, and the work was composed in V.S. 1758 at Samudayapura during the reign of Jayasimha. Probably, the author prefixed the word *jainī* to the title in order to distinguish his work from another homonymous work entitled *Saptapadārthī*, a treatise of the Vaiśeṣika system by Śivāditya, a Hindu writer.
4. *Pramāṇavāḍārtha*, composed in V.S. 1759 (= 1703 A.D.). According to JSSI²⁹ this work was composed at Saṅgrāma-pura during the reign of Jayasimha. *Jinaratnakosa*³⁰, gives the date of this work as V.S. 1758.
5. *Bhāvasaptatikā*, composed in V.S. 1740 (= 1684 A.D.). It deals with *Jyotiṣa*.
6. *Mānamañjarī*.
7. *Yaśorājapaddhati*, a work on Horoscopy, composed in V.S. 1762 (= 1706 A.D.). JSSI³¹ refers to this work as *Yaśorājirājapaddhati*.
8. *Vādasamikhyā*.
9. *Vādārthanirupāṇa*.

25. Cf. Stanza 1 in the MSS. of *Jainatarkabhāṣā* as quoted in the foot note at JS p. 19.

26. This work is referred to as *Grahalāghava* in JS p. 20. This is, probably, the printer's error.

27. Cf. p. 416.

28. Cf. p. 656, para 962.

29. Ibid.

30. Cf. p. 269.

31. Cf. p. 656, para 962.

10 *Vicārasaṭṭrīmsikāvacūri*, composed in V S 1721 (= 1665 A D) JSSI³² mentions (1712?) as the doubtful date

11 *Sabdārthasambandha*, composed in V S 1758 (= 1702 A D)

12 *Samāsasobhā*

13 *Stavanaratna*

14 *Syadvadamuktavalī*—This work has been edited (not on critical principles) by Muni Buddhisagara and published at Ahmedabad in V S 1965 (= 1909 A D³³) Muni Buddhisagara has earned gratitude of all, by bringing into light a work by Yasasvatsagara for the first time The title in the printed book reads *Sri Jaina Syadvadamuktavalī* It is difficult to guess any convincing reason for the addition of the word *jaina* in the title by the editor

15 *Syadvadamuktavalī* (or *Jainavisesatarka*), critically edited and published herewith

The manuscripts of the works bearing nos 5 7 9 10 and 13 are available in the collection at the Jati Motivijayaji's *upasraya* at Udayapura and of the works bearing nos 1 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12 and 14 are in *Sri Vijayadharimalakṣmi Jnana Mandir* at Agra³⁴ JSSI³⁵ refers to only nine works bearing nos 1 3, 4, 5, 7 9 10, 13 and 14 and states that the manuscripts of the first eight works are available in the collection of Yati Vivekavijaya at Udayapura *Jinaratnakosa*³⁶ records only eight works bearing nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 14 and 15

Of these fifteen works, only three works (including the work edited herewith) are published From the evidence of language and treatment of the subject, the chronological order of these three works may tentatively be fixed as *Syadvadamuktavalī* published at Ahmedabad in 1909, (2) *Syadvadamuktavalī* or *Jainavisesatarka*, edited herewith and (3) *Jaini Saptapadarthī*, published at Ujjain, 1934

Besides in V S 1721 he composed a *prasasti* in five stanzas, after having himself written a manuscript of *Kalpasūtra* with the commentary *Kiranavalī* of Dharmasagaragani³⁷

32 Cf p 656 para 962 Prof Kapadia H R (in his article *Sri Yasasvatsagara* and *Syadvadamuktavalī* (in Gujarati) published in *Sri Jaina Satya Prakasa* vol. 3 No 9 p 327 29) states that it is yet to be decided whether the *avacūri* in V S 1812 is not traceable Is it a printing mistake for V S 1712?

33 The printing of this work is far from satisfactory Printing mistakes are corrected in the quotations from this text in the article

34 Cf JS p 20

35 Cf JSSI p 656 para 962

36 Cf pp 113 159 (145) 416 269 296 320 457 and 145

37 Cf Kapadia H R Cat Vol XVII, Part II(a) Poona 1936 pp 106 7

VII. The dates of his works indicate that the period of his literary activities extended from V.S. 1721 to V.S. 1762 (= from 1665 to 1706 A.D.). We may, therefore, infer that the author lived during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. He must have been a contemporary of literary figures like Yaśovijaya, Vinayavijaya, Meghavijaya Upādhyāya etc. For some time he must have lived at Samudayapura and Samgrāmapura during the reign of Jayasūha.

VIII. Yaśasvatsāgara pays glowing tributes to his *guru* Yaśahsāgara—the best jewel in the assembly of the wise people from all the three worlds, the learned and the eloquent one. Cf.

लोकनयीविवुधरातिशिरोमणीना
विद्याविनोदरसनिर्जितदीधितीनाम् ।
वाम्भवरादरवात्पत्तिवाक्षतीना
चिद्वयद्यप्रयमसामगरसिधुराणाम् ॥³⁸

He is referred to as a *pāṇḍita*.³⁹

Yaśasvatsāgara refers to Cāritrasāgara also as his *guru*. Probably our author received education (moral education, in particular) from Cāritrasāgara, who was well-known for his extremely pure conduct. Besides, he is described as 'the best one amongst the *sādhūs*, the royal swan in the group of the modest kings, the lord of the rivers in the form of good conduct, the ocean of the rivers in the form of knowledge and the moon which gives delight to the ocean in form of good conduct'. His figure is described as lovely on account of his virtuous conduct. Cf.

चारिनाराः कलौ मूर्ति भाग्यमाजा मुदुर्लम् ।
अस्मद् माम्योदयादाती गुरुश्चातिवसागर ॥⁴⁰
चारिनचारुमतियर्थचारिनरससागर ।
चारिनसिद्धैर्मे स्तादगुरुश्चारिनसागर ॥⁴¹
तेषां गणे सकलसाधुशिरो (5) वतसा
निश्चेषनम्यधरणीश्वरराजहस्ताः ।
चारिनसल्लितवृत्तिविष्टुदोषाः
चारिनसागरलसद्गुरुवो वभूवुः ॥⁴²

Also cf. I. 24, II. 24 and III. 24 in the text edited herewith. He persuaded the kings to give up hunting; cf.

उर्वर्णशा यहुशो यदीयवचनादालेटक तत्यजु ॥⁴³

38 Ibid, p 107

39 Cf. Foot-note No. 1 at JS p 31

40 Cf. JSM I 88.

41. Cf. JSM II 76

42. Cf. Kapadia, H R. Cat, Vol XVII, Part II(a), Poona, 1936, p 106.

43. Cf. I. 24

His blessings and help are often requested for by the author—particularly for imbibing and preserving purity of conduct, cf

श्री गुरवो मवन्तु मम ते सद्य सहायप्रेदा ॥⁴⁴
 चारित्रसिद्धये मे स्ताद्वगुहश्चारित्रसागर ॥⁴⁵
 नूयो भद्र स मे दद्यात् गुहश्चारित्रसागर ॥⁴⁶

His teaching was unfailing and yielded due results, cf

रसादयो धातव ईशवाच्छा
 फलानया स्पात्पदलाघनास्ते ।
 प्रमाणवर्ते फलदायका स्यु—
 इच्चारित्रसत्सागरसप्रदिष्टा ॥⁴⁷

It may be noted that Caritrasagara is not referred to in the *Jainasaptapadārthī*

The author pays his respects to Śrī Vijayaprabhasūri and to Śrī Kalyanasagara. Vijayaprabhasuri is referred to as 'the lovely moon for the ocean in the form of the *Tapā gaccha*,' cf

थीमत् 'तपा' गणमहोदयिचाहचन्द्रा
 सर्वज्ञासानविमासनवासरेन्द्रा ।
 ये साप्रत सकलिनामनुकारिणस्ते
 शश्वर्जयन्तु विजयप्रमस्तिसाका ॥⁴⁸

Kalyānasāgara is 'the brilliant, the abode of prosperity, the ornament of the learned, the bestower of auspiciousness' etc Cf

तत्पृष्ठवर्धणीध (?) रविप्रकाशा
 लक्ष्मीविलासनिलया विवृधावतसा ।
 कल्याणसागर इति प्रथितामिधाना
 कल्याणदा मम सदा गुरवो जयन्ति ॥⁴⁹

The author pays his respects to Kalyānasāgara, cf

पण्डितश्रीकल्याणसागरगणिभ्यो नम ।
 —Line 1 in the ed text स्ताद्वादमुक्तावली
 श्रीकल्याणसागरगणिचरणवमलभ्यो नम ।⁵⁰

IX. His language, though simple, is lucid. The inherent limitation of the subjects selected by him has made his expression compact. Cf

तत्राद्य चतुर्मैदमवप्रहेहावायधारणाऽऽव्येतिमेदात् । यथा इन्द्रियार्थसमुद्भुतसत्तामानमवप्रह , सामान्यव्यवसायप्रत्यय एकवस्तुनानविशेषितो यथाऽप्य पुरुषो हस्त-

44 Ibid

45 Cf II 24

46 Cf III 24

47 Cf JSV IV 42

48 Cf Kapadia, H R., Cat., Vol XVII, Part II(a), Poona, 1936, p 106

49 Ibid

50 Ibid, p 103

पणिशिरकूर्चादिलक्षण । गृहीतायसशयात्ययलक्षण (०णा?) ईहा पुर्पोऽय दाक्षिणात्यो
मापाच्यशेषपलक्षणविज्ञानात् । याथात्यादवगमाद् अवायो दाक्षिणात्य एवायम् । कालान्त-
रस्मृतियोग्या धारणा प्रत्यीनवारण्या निश्चित एवाय दाक्षिणात्यो न मारवीय ।

—JS P 18

ससारिणश्च ये जीवा ससरन्ति पुन् पुन् ।
समसापुश्च ससारे ससरिष्यन्ति ते सदा ॥

—JSM I 47

विश्वधर्मध्यासस्तु नानेकान्तं पतिक्षिपेत् ।
गुडनागरमैपज्यानं दोपोऽय द्वचात्मनि ॥

—I 23

His prose style is quite aphoristic. In some cases, the exposition of the subject, being too crisp, is not easily intelligible. The similarity of expressions between this text and his other two works as well as with *Pramananayatattvaloka* indicates the author's tendency to repeat certain words, phrases and expressions. As evident from the foot-notes, *Vādidevasuri*'s *Pramananayatattvaloka* had a considerable influence on the poet's pen.

The poet has a fascination for using words which are not current and are found only in lexicons, cf. the words *avīsvagbhava*⁵¹, *īdakam*⁵², *luṭa*⁵³, *kṛṣanuman*⁵⁴, *damunas*⁵⁵, *draha*⁵⁶, *nāgara*⁵⁷, *socihkaśa*⁵⁸ etc. The nature of the subject hardly leaves any scope for poetic excellences, yet the alliteration is achieved⁵⁹ apt *dṛṣṭānta*'s are put forward⁶⁰ and expressive metaphors are employed⁶¹. Thus both as a poet and as a scholar he deserves our attention.

X The work is uniformly divided into three chapters, called *stabaka*'s, each comprising twenty-five stanzas. The first chapter deals with the exposition of the *syadvada*, the second with the *pratyakṣa pramana* and the last with the *anumana pramana*. The last chapter is not referred to as a *stabaka*, but as a *gucchah*, cf.

तार्तीयोक्तयानुमानविलसद्गुच्छोऽयमन्तः ।

—III 25

51 Cf JS p. 5

52 Cf III 12

53 Cf JS p. 11

54 Cf JSM II 31

55 Cf III 14

56 Cf III 20

57 Cf I 23

58 Cf III 20 JSM II 41

59 Cf I 9 III 2cd etc

60 Cf I 12 16 23 II 21 etc.

61 Cf I 24 II 24 III 24 etc

XI The text begins with the *bhale* symbol and obescience to Sri Kalyaṇasāgaragāṇi

Below is given an analysis of the contents of the work

FIRST STABAKA

Stanza No	Topic
1	Mangala
2	Enumeration of six <i>padārtha-s</i>
3 9	<i>sāmānya</i> and <i>visesa</i>
10-23	<i>syādvāda</i>
24	obescience to Caritrasagara
25	Author's own introduction

SECOND STABAKA

1-2	<i>jīva</i>
3 5	<i>jñānapramāṇa</i>
6	<i>yatharthiyajñāna</i>
7 9	<i>samāropa</i> (or <i>apramāṇajñāna</i>)
	<i>viparyaya, samsaya</i>
	<i>anadhyavasāya</i>
10-13	Kinds of <i>kārana-s</i>
14-15	<i>pratyakṣapramāṇa</i> (<i>samvayavaharika, avagraha, iha, avaya, sudharana</i>)
16-17	<i>avadhijñāna</i>
18	<i>manahparyāyajñāna</i>
19 20	<i>kevalajñāna</i>
21 23	<i>arhat</i>
24	obescience to Caritrasagara
25	Author's own Introduction

THIRD STABAKA

1 2	<i>parokṣajñāna</i> and its five kinds
3-4	<i>smarana</i>
5-6	<i>pratyabhijñāna</i>
7-8	<i>tarka</i>
9	<i>anvaya, vyatireka</i>
10	<i>vyapti, paramarśa</i>
11-12	<i>anumana</i>
13 17	<i>hetu</i>
18-20	<i>drstanta sadharmya, vaidharmya</i>
21-23	<i>upanaya, nigamana</i>
24	obescience to Caritrasagara
25	Author's own introduction

XII It is clear that the author has expounded the bare outlines only of the three topics (viz *syādvāda*, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*) without any attempt at detailed or comprehensive discussion. Obviously, the work was intended for, the beginners to acquaint themselves with the main tenets and terminology of the three principles—*syādvāda*, *pratyakṣa* *pramāṇa* and *anumāna pramāṇa* of the Jain

philosophy. The work, thus, is to be reckoned as an elementary text-book and not as critical or original exposition. It is, in deed, for the *sūsprabodhaya*⁶² as the author rightly points out in the opening stanza

XIII The title of the present work is the *Syādvādāmuktāvalī*, as is evident from the verse 25 of the three chapters and from the colophons at the end of the first two chapters. The opening stanza, however, refers to the work as the *Jainaviseṣatarka* which seems to be an alternative title for the present work.

Another work entitled *Śrī Jaina Syādvādāmuktāvalī* by the same author, *Yasasvatsagara*, edited by *Muni Śrī Buddhisagarajī* was published by *Shri Jhaveri Vadilal Vakhatacand* at Ahmedabad in V S 1965 (= 1909 AD). This work is referred to as *Syādvādāmuktāvalī* in stanzas I 89, II 77, III 37 and IV 43 as well as in the colophons at the end of the four chapters. The opening verse refers to this work as *Jainaviseṣatarka*.

Are these two works identical? Undoubtedly not. *Śrī Jaina Syādvādāmuktāvalī*, published from Ahmedabad, contains four chapters of 89, 77, 37 and 44 stanzas respectively. These four chapters deal with *pratyakṣa*, *parokṣa*, *prameya* and *sannayanirnaya* respectively. The present text, published herewith, contains three chapters of 25 stanzas each, dealing with *syādvāda*, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* respectively. The two works are, therefore, quite different. This is corroborated by the analysis of the contents and by the treatment of different topics in both the works.

The problem is why *Yasasvatsagara* gave the identical title and the identical alternative title to his two different works? It is difficult to put forward any convincing conjecture. Equally difficult it is to decide which work was composed earlier. Is it that the present work was composed later, as the author found that his other work was considered rather difficult by the students in the beginning?

The present text is entitled as *Syādvādāmuktāvalī* in accordance with the colophons. The title *Jainaviseṣatarka* is regarded as the alternative title as it is mentioned only in the opening stanza⁶³. Both the titles, however, are used for this text in order to distinguish it from the text entitled *Śrī Jaina Syādvādāmuktāvalī* (also, *Syādvādāmuktāvalī* and *Jainaviseṣatarka*) published from Ahmedabad.

62 Cf I 1

63 Kapadia, H R Cat, Vol XVIII Part I Poona 1952 p 11 records the title जैनविशेषतर्क [स्याद्वादामुक्तावली] and notes Both these names are mentioned by the author himself, one just in the very first verse and the other, in the last verse

XIV. Of the seventy-five stanzas, fifty-nine are composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, two in the *Indravrajā* metre, three in the *Upen-dra-vrajā* metre, ten in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and one in the *Śālinī* metre.

Below is given the detailed metrical analysis of the text:

Name of the Metre	Reference	Total
<i>Anuṣṭubh</i>	I. 2, 4-17, 19-21, 23	19
	II. 1-13, 16-22, 24	21
	III. 2-8, 10, 11; 13-18; 21-24	19
<i>Indravrajā</i> (त, त, ज, ग, ग, 5:6)	I. 3, 22	2
<i>Upendravrajā</i> (ज, त, ज, ग, ग, 5.6)	I. 1,	1
<i>Sārdūlavikrīḍita</i> (म, स, ज, स, त, त, ग; 12:7)	III. 1, 19	2
	I. 18, 24, 25	3
	II. 14, 15, 23, 25	4
<i>Śālinī</i> (म, त, त, ग, ग; 4:7)	III. 9, 12, 25	3
	III. 20	1
Total :		75

The analysis presented here shows the poet's fondness for the *Anuṣṭubh* and *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metres. A critical examination of the metrical composition of verses in particular, I. 2c, 10c, 13c, 21c, 23a; II. 2c, 3, 4c, 7a, 8a, 11c, 19; III. 11a, 14c, 16c—proves the poet to be only a moderate master of metrics.

XV The manuscript, as is common, omits the insertion of *avagraha* sign and fails to observe the rule of *parasavarna*. The marking of *daṇḍa* and the separation of words are not uniform. These are restored in the edited text. Emendations are suggested in the round brackets at the respective places; additions are indicated in the rectangular brackets. Specific points regarding the text in the manuscript are mentioned in the foot-notes.

The expressions in the present text bear similarity with those in the author's two published works viz. *Jainī Saptapadārthī* and *Śrī Jainā Syādvāda-muktāvalī* and with those in Vādidevaśūri's *Pramānanayatattvāloka*. The relevant references to this are given in the foot-notes.

यशस्वत्सागरविरचिता

स्याद्वादमुक्तावली

वा

जैनविशेषतर्कः

प्रथमः स्तवकः

ए ऐ उ ॥ ऐ नमः ॥

पण्डितधीकल्याणसागरगणिगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

प्रणम्य शङ्खेश्वरपाश्वनाथ प्रकाशितानन्तपदार्थसार्थम् ।
शिशुप्रबोधाय तमस्तमोऽर्कं प्रकाशयते जैनविशेषतर्कं ॥ १ ॥

जीवाजीवो नम कालौ धर्माधर्मौ विशेषतः ।
समस्वभावा स्याद्वादे पदार्था पदं प्रकीर्ति(ति)ता ॥ २ ॥

तवास्ति सामान्यविशेषकाद्यनेकात्मकदर्चवं पदार्थसार्थ ।
एकोऽनुवृत्तिवृत्तितोऽन्यद्वार्थक्रियाया घटनात् विपद्या ॥ ३ ॥

1 For Kalyanasagaragani, see para VIII in the Introduction
abd=JSM I 1 abd

c Cf स्वान्यप्रकाशाय तमस्तमोर्कं —JSM I 1c Cat records तमस्तमोर्कं as तमस्त(?) मार्कं This is not correct

In the MSS the word मया is added in the space above between the words जैन and विशेषतर्क. Figures १, २ and ३ are written above the words मया, जैनविशेषतर्क and प्रकाशयते respectively. These additions are obviously for शिशुप्रबोधाय. The word जैनविशेषतर्क is underlined in different ink. The colour of the ink indicates that the underlining is done quite recently, probably to facilitate the reference to the title of the work

3 b नेकात्मकं is written in the MSS as नेकात्मक० The reading in the MSS makes the Pada metrically defective. The text, therefore, is emended as नेकात्मक०

The word स्याद्वादे is written above the word तत्र in the MSS. The word हेतु is written in the margin on the right.

सामान्य द्विविव तिर्यगूर्ध्वतादिविमेदत ।
आद्य साधारण व्यक्ती द्वितीय द्रव्यमेव च ॥ ४ ॥

तिर्यग् (क) सामान्यमेवंतद् यथा गोत्वं गवा व्रजे ।
तल्लक्षणं प्रतिव्यक्ति तुल्या परिणतिस्तथा ॥ ५ ॥

द्रवत्यदुदुवत्द्रोप्यत्येव त्रैकालिक च यत् ।
ताँस्तोत्तरथैव पर्यायान्तद्वद्व्य जिनशासने ॥ ६ ॥

अवच्छेदक एवाय व्यतिवृत्तिर्हि लक्षणम् ।
विशयोऽपि द्विप्रकारो गुणपर्यायमेदत ॥ ७ ॥

सहोत्पत्ता गुणा द्रव्ये पर्याया क्रममाविन ।
पर्येत्यत्पादनराशी च पर्याय समुदाहृत ॥ ८ ॥

पर्यायाणा गुणाना च मेदो नो धर्म्यपेशया ।
स्वरूपापेक्षया मेद प्रोक्तोऽप्य पूर्वपण्डितै ॥ ९ ॥

स्यादव्ययमनेकान्त्योतक सर्वथैव यत् ।
तदीयवाद स्याद्वाद सदैकान्त्यनिराश (स) कृत् ॥ १० ॥

सर्वं तथान्वयि द्रव्ये नित्यमन्वयदर्शनात् ।
अनित्यमेतत् पर्यायै पर्यायानुभवादिदम् ॥ ११ ॥

तथा

अनादिनियने द्रव्ये स्वपर्याया प्रतिक्षणम् ।
उन्मज्जन्ति निमज्जन्ति जलकल्लोलवज्जले ॥ १२ ॥

एकविशतिमावा स्युर्जीवपुद्गलयोर्मता ।
धर्मदीना पोडया स्यु काले पञ्चदशा स्मृता ॥ १३ ॥

4 Read JS p. 26 सामान्य द्विमेदम्—तिर्यगूर्ध्वतामेदात्। प्रतिव्यक्ति तुल्या परिणतिस्तिर्यक्सामान्य शब्दलशावलेयादिपिण्डेषु गोत्वम्। व्यक्ति प्रतिगत पूर्वापर-साधारणपरिणामद्रव्यमूर्ध्वतासामान्य कटककणानुगामिकाञ्चनवत् पर्यायपरिगतम्।

6 =JSM I 11

The stanza is also quoted under द्रव्यनिष्पणम् in JS (p. 4) wherein the Pada b is read as त्रैकालिक हि यत्। The whole verse appears to be a quotation from some other work

7,8 Also read JS p. 26 27

11 abc=JSM I 18abc

d in JSM I 18 reads उत्पादव्ययसंगते

13 This stanza appears as a quotation in JS p. 6

उत्पादध्रीव्यनाशास्ते स्युभिनाभिनलक्षणात् ।
परस्पर हि सापेक्षा[] सैवेय त्रिपदी मता ॥ १४ ॥

रहित स्थितिनाशाभ्या न चोत्पादस्तु केवल ।
उत्पादध्रीव्यरहितो न नाश केवलो मत ॥ १५ ॥

रहितोत्पादनाशाभ्या नैवका केवला स्थिति ।
अन्यथानुपपत्तेश्च दृष्टान्ता कर्मरोमवत् ॥ १६ ॥

सर्वे जीवादिपट(इ)द्रव्य गुणपर्यायस्युतम् ।
अनेकान्तकलाकान्त सिद्ध वस्तु नयात्मकम् ॥ १७ ॥

यथा

प्रध्वस्ते कलशे शुशोच तनया मीली ममुत्पादित
पुर प्रीतिमवाप कामपि नृप शिश्राय मध्यस्यताम् ।
पूवाकारपरिक्षयस्तदपराकारोदयस्तदद्या-
धाररचेक इति स्थित त्रयमत(त) तत्त्व तथा प्रत्ययात् ॥ १८ ॥

तथानेकान्ततो वस्तु मावामावोमयात्मकम् ।
यथा सत्त्व स्वरूपेण पररूपेण चात्यथा ॥ १९ ॥

पटायमावव्यपश्चेद घटोऽप्य न भवेत्तदा ।
घट पटादिरेव स्यात् तस्मादेप द्वयात्मक ॥ २० ॥

द्रव्यक्षेत्रकालमावापेक्षयापि घटो यथा ।
स्वभावेन परमावाद्विनस्तदुमयात्मक ॥ २१ ॥

अयनियाकारि तदेव वस्तु
स्वद्रव्यशक्त्या हि भवेत् समर्थम् ।
पर्यायशक्त्या तदिहासमर्थम्
सापेक्षमेतद् सहकारिराशे ॥ २२ ॥

18 =JSM I 19 wherein d reads तम्यम् (for तत्त्वम्)

This verse is quoted in the Ratnakaravataraṇa (p 85) on PNT V 8 as occurring in पञ्चाशति, b reads प्रीतीमुवाह d reads त्रयमय In the MSS b reads कामपि च (for वामपि) which is difficult to construe In the light of JSM I

19 and the reference in Ratnakaravataraṇa, the text is emended as कामपि

22 In the margin on the right some word is written All the letters are not deci-
plicable as the edge of the folio is damaged. As it is, the word reads
तक्रामोदक—त् त् is written in pencil by some one, as the original letter is lost

विरद्धधर्माध्यासस्तु नानेकात्त प्रतिक्षिपेत् ।
गुडनागरमैषज्याम् दोषोऽयं द्वयात्मनि ॥ २३ ॥

चारिनादिमसागराः सममवन् विद्यापगासागराः
येषा ध्यानवशा प्रसादमकरोत् पदावतीदेवता ।
उर्वीशा बहुशो यदीयवचनादाखेटक तत्यजुः
ध्याता[:] श्रीगुरुवो भवन्तु मम ते सद्य. सहायप्रदा ॥ २४ ॥

इत्यं श्रीसमयः सरानुसुकृत स्याद्वादवादे सदा
सूरि. श्रीविजयप्रभस्तपगणाधीशो नतोर्वीश्वर ।
कल्याणादिमसागराह्वगुरव. प्राज्ञा यश सागरा
तच्छिष्यस्य यशस्वत कृतिरिय स्याद्वादमृक्तावली ॥ २५ ॥

इति श्रीसज्जनमनोमनोजाभीप्सितप्रतिपादनकल्पवल्त्यां स्याद्वादमृक्तावल्त्या स्याद्वादवाद-
निर्णयः प्रथमस्तबकः ।

★

द्वितीयः स्तबकः

जीवो द्रव्य प्रमातात्मा ज्ञातङ्चोमयमानतः ।
सच्चैत्यस्वरूपोऽय पर(रि)णामी स विश्रुत. ॥ १ ॥

कर्ता भोक्ता तनूमान प्रतिक्षेप षृण्(क्)स्थितः ।
विशिष्टोऽपि पौद्गलिको दृष्टवान् दिग्विशेषणः ॥ २ ॥

ज्ञान प्रमाण स्वपरब्यवसायीति लक्षणम् ।
सदसद्वस्त्रूपादेष्येष्यममुदीरितम् ॥ ३ ॥

23. नागर (n)—dry ginger.

25 a: श्रीसमय सरानुसुकृतम् is rather difficult to understand Cat. records श्रीसमयः
-सरा (?) तु सुकृत; but this too is not intelligible. Can it be श्रीसमया-
नुसारसुकृतम्?

b: cf JSM I. 89a. सूरि: श्रीविजयप्रभस्तपगणाधीशो नतेश श्रिये

c: cf JSM I. 89b. कल्याणादिमसागराह्वगुरवो विद्यश सागरा:

- d=JSM I. 89c. Colophon—Cat. records *prathama(h) stabakah* for *prathamastabakah* in the
MSS.

प्रामाण्य समिक्षणदिरजानस्येह नोच्यते ।
अचेतनत्वाद्वा स्त्रीयनिश्चयाकरणत्वतः ॥ ४ ॥

प्रयोगी तु ॥
व्यवसायस्वभावं हि प्रमाणत्वादुदीरितम् ।
समारोपविशद्वत्वात् यन्मैव न तदीदृशम् ॥ ५ ॥

तस्मिस्तदध्यवसायव्यवसायः शि(सि)ते शि(सि)तम् ।
यवावस्थितसज्जनान् यायार्थमपरे विदुः ॥ ६ ॥

यद्विपरीतैककोटिनिष्टद्धन् विपर्ययः ।
शुक्तिकाया हि रजतं समारोपोऽयमादिमः ॥ ७ ॥

अनिश्चितानेककोटिस्पर्शि ज्ञानं च सशयः ।
स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वेति समारोपो द्वितीयकः ॥ ८ ॥

किमित्यालोचनं ज्ञानं ज्ञेयोऽनध्यवसायकः ।
गच्छतश्च तृणस्पर्शि हयुपचारात् तृतीयकः ॥ ९ ॥

द्विविष्ठ कारणं ज्ञेयमसाधारणमादिमम् ।
साधारणं ततस्तावत्तत् साधकतम् स्मृतम् ॥ १० ॥

पूर्वाकारपरित्यागाजजहद्वृत्तोत्तराकृतिः ।
उपादानकारणं तद् मृत्यिणः(णः) कलशस्य च ॥ ११ ॥

5. ab=JSM I. 60ab.
cd=JSM I. 61ab.

b: Some undecipherable letter (probably फि) is written in place of तु in the text.

6. ab: cf. JSM I. 61cd: तस्मिस्तदध्यवसायो व्यवसायः शितेशितम् ।
The last word ought to read सिते सितम्. In the MSS. अपरे विदुः is written in the margin at the top. This is done because the corrected text is not easily decipherable

7. a: cf. JSM I. 63a: विपरीतैककोटेस्तु

bcd=JSM I. 63bcd.
cf. विपरीतैककोटिनिष्टद्धन् विपर्ययः । —PNT I. 9, this text is quoted in JS p. 16.

8 =JSM I. 64.
cf JS p 16. अनिश्चितानेककोटिस्पर्शि ज्ञान सशयः स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वेति ।
Also read PNT I. 11, 12.

9. a: Cf. JSM I. 65a. किमित्यालोचनप्रायम्

b=JSM I. 65b.

cd: Cf. JSM I. 65cd. गच्छतश्च तृणस्पर्शविपय ज्ञानमुच्यते ।

Also read PNT I. 13, 14.

cf. JS p. 16.

पूर्वाकारपरित्यागोत्तराकारस्य निर्मितौ ।
 परिणामश्च कार्यत्वं मृत्स्नाया कलशो यथा ॥ १२ ॥
 उपादानादिनितय कारणं सद्गूरिष्यते ।
 कायकारणतामावो नोक्त्वा ग्रन्थस्य गौरवात ॥ १३ ॥

उत्पत्तौ परत स्वतरच परतो जप्ती प्रमाण भवेत्
 प्रत्यक्षं च परोक्षमेतदुभयं मानं जिनेन्द्रागमे ।
 अक्षाधीनतयास्मदादिविदितं स्पष्टं तथा लौकिकम्
 द्वेष्ठा तत् प्रियपारमार्थिकमिद द्वेष्ठा पुनः समतम् ॥ १४ ॥
 आद्य साव्यवहारिकं पुनरपि द्वेषेन्द्रियातीद्रियो
 त्पन्नत्वाद्विद्वितय तथापि [च] चतुर्भेदं यथाऽवग्रह ।
 ईहापायसुवारणादिभिरिद ज्ञानं पुनस्तद्वित
 तत्राद्य विकलं तथा च सकलं तद्वानं स्मृतस्तोथकृत ॥ १५ ॥
 अवध्यावरणोच्छेदादविज्ञानमिष्यते ।
 गुणप्रत्ययमेवाद्य तद्विद्विष्यगोचरम् ॥ १६ ॥

चारिनशुद्धिसजाताद् विशिष्टावरणक्षयात् ।
 यन्मनोद्रव्यपर्यायसाक्षात्कारि निवेदितम् ॥ १७ ॥

तथा हि सज्जिजीवाना मानुपक्षनवत्ति(ति)नाम् ।
 मनं पर्यायविज्ञानं मनं पर्यायसज्जिकम् ॥ १८ ॥

14 ab=JSM I 68ab
 cd. Cf JSM I 68cd

अक्षाधीनतयास्मदादि विदितं स्पष्टं द्वेष्ठा लौकिकम् ।
 अन्यतत्त्विकलं पारमार्थिकमतो नित्यं सता समतम् ॥

15 abc Cf JSM I 69abc

आद्य साव्यवहारिकं पुनरपि द्वेषेन्द्रियानिन्द्रियोऽ-
 त्पन्नत्वाद्विदितं तथापि हि चतुर्भेदं तथावग्रह ।
 ईहापायसुवारणादिभिरिद ज्ञानं हि मत्यात्मकम्
 d=JSM I 69d

17 Cf JSM I 80

चारिनशुद्धि सजातविशिष्टावरणक्षयात् ।
 यन्मनो द्रव्यपर्यायालम्बनं विनिवेदितम् ॥

Also read JS p 19

18 a Cf JSM I 81a तद् द्वेष्ठा सज्जिजीवानाम्
 bc=JSM I 81bc
 d Cf JSM I 81d मनं पर्यवसज्जिकम्

सामग्रीतः समुद्भूतात् समस्तावरणक्षयात् ।
 सकल धातिसंघातविधातापेक्षमीहितम् ॥ १९ ॥

समस्तवस्तुपर्यायसाक्षात्कारि त्रिकालतः ।
 सर्वथा सर्वद्रव्याद्यः केवलज्ञानमेव तत् ॥ २० ॥

अहंशेवास्ति सर्वज्ञो निर्दोषत्वादुदीरितः ।
 यस्तु नैवं स नैव स्यात् यथा रथ्यापुमानसौ ॥ २१ ॥

मानाविरोधिवाक्त्वा (क्यत्वा)त् निर्दोषोऽहंनिगद्यते ।
 यस्तु नैव स नैव स्यात् यथा रथ्यापुमानसौ ॥ २२ ॥

तस्येष्टस्य तथा प्रमाणविपयेनादाध्यमानत्वतः
 तद्वाच् प्रतिपाद्यमानसुविद्येस्तेना विरोधोदयः ।
 मानेनापि न वाच्यते निजमत मानाविरुद्धोदितः
 निर्दोषऽहंनयमेव विश्वविदित श्रीवर्धमानप्रमुः ॥ २३ ॥

चारित्रचारुमूर्तिय (यं) इच्छारित्ररससागरः ।
 चारित्रसिद्धये मे स्तादगुह्यचारित्रसागरः ॥ २४ ॥

सूरि: श्रीविजयप्रभस्तपगणाधीशो नतोऽर्चेश्वरः
 कल्याणादिमसागराह्वगुरुवः प्राज्ञा यशःसागराः ।
 तच्छिष्पस्य यशस्वतः कृतिरियं स्याद्वादमुक्तावली
 प्रत्यक्षस्तवकस्तदा समवत् तस्या द्वितीयोऽधुना ॥ २५ ॥

इति थोस्याद्वादमुक्तावल्यां प्रत्यक्षबोधे द्वितीयस्तवकः ।

★

19. a: Cf. JSM I. 82a: स्वसामग्रीविशेषोद्यत्
 b=JSM I. 82b.
 cd: Cf. JSM I. 82cd: सकल धातिसंघातविधातापेक्षमीरितम्.
 Also read JS p. 19.

20. Cf. JSM I. 83:
 समस्तवस्तुविस्तारसाक्षात्कारि त्रिकालतः ।
 सर्वथा सर्वदा नित्यं केवलज्ञानमेव तत् ॥

24. =JSM II. 76.

25 ab. Cf. JSM I. 89ab:
 सूरि: श्रीविजयप्रभस्तपगणाधीशो नतेशः श्रिये
 कल्याणादिमसागराह्वगुरुवो विद्वद्यशःसागराः ।

c=JSM I. 89c
 d: Cf. JSM I. 89d:
 प्रत्यक्षस्तवकः प्रमाणरसिकस्तवाद्य एवाजनि ।

d. Before the line given above in the text, the following line is written and struck off:

तस्यामिन्द्रियवेदने समभवतुच्छो द्वितीयोऽधुना ।

Colophon: ल्या is not clearly written in the MSS. The letter written is ली with an attempt to improve upon it. However the context makes it clear that ल्या is intended.

तृतीयः स्तवकः

अथ द्वितीयं प्रतिपाद्यमानास्पष्टत्वभावाभिमतं परोक्षम् ।
आये परोक्षे हि भतिश्रुते द्वे सैद्धान्तिकास्तावदिद वदन्ति ॥ १ ॥

स्मरणं प्रत्यभिज्ञानं तर्कोऽधानुभितिः श्रुतम् ।
परोक्षं पञ्चधा प्राहुर्भूर्यः पूर्वसूर्यः ॥ २ ॥

संस्कारवोषसमूतमनुभूतार्थवेदनम् ।
तत् तीर्थकृत्प्रतिच्छन्दः स्मरण प्रथमोदितम् ॥ ३ ॥

मानार्पिता प्रतीतिर्या स एवानुभवः स्मृतः ।
सकलनं विवक्षातो वस्तुप्रत्यवर्मणम् ॥ ४ ॥

प्रत्यभिज्ञानमेवात्रानुभवस्मृतिहेतुकम् ।
सामान्यद्वयविषय तथा सकलनात्मकम् ॥ ५ ॥

स एवायं जिनदत्तस्तथा गोपिण्ड एप सः ।
तत्तज्जातीय एवाय गोसदृगवयस्तथा ॥ ६ ॥

तर्कः प्रभाणमात्रेणोपलभ्मानुपलभ्मतः ।
संभवः कारणं यत्र कालत्रितयर्वर्तिनो ॥ ७ ॥

साध्यसाधनयोव्याप्त्याद्यालभ्वनभिदं हि यत् ।
अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्या सवेदनभिद हि सः ॥ ८ ॥

1. =JSM II. 1.

2. =JSM II. 2

In the MSS. the figures १, २, ३, ४ and ५ are placed after the words स्मरण, प्रत्यभिज्ञानं, तर्कः, अनुभितिः and श्रुतम्.

3. Cf. JS p. 20, PNT III. 3, 4.

4. Cf. JS p. 20

5-6. Cf. PNT III. 5, 6.

7. =JSM II. 11.

Cf. JS p. 20; PNT III. 7.

8. abc=JSM II. 12abc.

d: Cf. JSM II. 12d: सवेदनमुदीरितम्.

यावान् कश्चिदद्य स धूमनिकर सत्येव वहनी भवेत्
 यत्सत्ये (त्वे) प्रयमोऽन्ययो निगदितो यत्सत्यमेवोमयम् ।
 धूमोऽन्यासति पावके भवति नो सद्योऽद्वितीयोऽन्युना
 ज्ञातव्यो व्यतिरेक एष हि तत्सर्ववान्यथा लक्षणम् ॥ ९ ॥

प्रतिवन्धोऽविनाभावसवन्धा व्याप्तिरिप्यते ।
 हेतुव्याप्तिसमायाग परामश स उच्यते ॥ १० ॥

द्वेषानुमान स्वार्थं च परायमुपचारत ।
 व्युत्प्रभाना तदेवं सहेतुवचनात्मकम् ॥ ११ ॥

सद्वेतोऽर्हण तथा स्मरणक व्याप्तेस्तयो समवम्
 साध्यज्ञानमतोऽनुमानमिदक स्वार्थं सुधीभिर्वृतम् ।
 साध्यत्व [च] तथाप्रतीतमिति तत् नेधा श्रुते विश्वनम्
 कि त्वस्मादनिराकृत द्रव्यमिद चामीप्सित तत् नयम् ॥ १२ ॥

साध्यधमविशिष्टेऽपि पक्षत्व धर्मिणि श्रूतम् ।
 अन्यमानुपपत्त्येकलक्षणो हेतुरिप्यते ॥ १३ ॥

दम् (मू)नोमानय देशः प्राच्यते पक्षधमता ।
 हेतुदित धूमवत्वादनुमान सुधीहितम् ॥ १४ ॥

हेतुप्रयोगतो द्वेषा तथोपपत्तिरन्वय ।
 अन्यमानुपपत्तिस्तु व्यतिरेक पुरोदित ॥ १५ ॥

9 ab=JSM II 19ab
 cd Cf JSM II 19cd

पूमोऽन्यासति पावके भवति नो तत्तु द्वितीयोऽन्युना
 ज्ञातव्यो व्यतिरेक एष सतत चंचाऽन्यथा लक्षणम् ॥

10 ab Cf JSM II 20ab
 प्रतिवन्धोऽविनाभाव सवन्धो व्याप्तिरिप्यते

cd=JSM II 20cd
 Cf JS p 21

12 a=JSM II 30a
 b=JSM II 30b which reads अनुमानमिदम् which is obviously an error for
 अनुमानमिदकम्

c=JSM II 30c
 d Cf JSM II 30d

कित्वस्मादनिराकृतद्रव्यमिद चामीप्सितात्तत्वयम् ।

13 =JSM II 29 Cf JS p 21 PNT III 11

14 a Cf JSM II 31a कृशानुमानय देश
 bcd=JSM II 31bcd.

15 =JSM II 32

परस्मै प्रतिपाद्यत्वात् प्रत्यक्षादे परायता ।
तर्थवमनुमानस्य सवभ्रेय पर(रा)यता ॥ १६ ॥

विशेषाद् व्युत्पादयितुमधुना मन्दमेवस ।
पञ्चावयविरुद्यात्मनुमानमुदीरितम् ॥ १७ ॥

प्रतिवन्धप्रतिपत्तेरास्पद यस्य लक्षणम् ।
द्वेषा साध्यम्यवैवम्यमदात् दृष्टान्तं एव स ॥ १८ ॥

प्रकाश्यते साधनधर्मसत्ता तस्या कृता साध्यसुधमसत्ता ।
साध्यम्यदृष्टान्तं इति प्रदिष्टी यतास्ति धूमो दहनस्तु तत्र ॥ १९ ॥

साध्याभावे साधनस्याप्यभावो वैधम्यक्तिर्वै स दृष्टान्तं एप ।
शोचि केशाभावतोऽस्याप्यभावो धमस्यास्मिन् ज्ञेय एव द्रहे स ॥ २० ॥

साध्यधर्मिणि सद्देतोरूपसहरण यथा ।
धूमश्चात्र प्रदेशेऽप्य तस्मादुपनय स्मृत ॥ २१ ॥

तत्पुन साध्यधमस्य पूर्वोगन भावितम् ।
तत्स्मादग्निरत्यायमेतद निगमन स्मृतम् ॥ २२ ॥

य एव च स एव तौ दृष्टान्तोपनयौ स्मृतौ ।
पाकस्थान निगमन मन्दवीसिद्धये त्रयम् ॥ २३ ॥

16 abc=JSM II 33abc

d Cf JSM II 33d सवर्त्तेव विभावना

17 Cf JS p 22

18 =JSM II 35

Cf प्रतिवन्धप्रतिपत्तरास्पद दृष्टान्तं । Cf PNT III 43 44 also JS p 21

19 =JSM II 40 which reads मूमी which is obviously a misprint for धूमो

20 =JSM II 41 wherein b reads वैधम्यक्तिर्वै and d reads हृदे which is an error for हृदे द्रह (m) a deep lake

21 =JSM II 36 which in b reads तथा for यथा Cf JS p 22

22 =JSM II 37

23 a=JSM II 39a

b Cf JSM II 39b दृष्टान्तोपनयावुभौ

cd=JSM II 39cd

Cat wrongly records this verse as

य एव च प्रणवती दृष्टातोपनयौ स्मृतौ ॥
वाकस्थान निगमन मन्दवी द्विषये त्रय ॥

चारिनिमग्नायसमुल्लासनचन्द्रमा ।
न्यो भद्र स मे दयात् गुरुचारिनसागर ॥ २४ ॥

सूरि श्रीविजयप्रभस्तपगणार्पीं नतोव्वर्वास्वर
कल्याणादिमसागराह्वगुरव प्राज्ञा यदा सागरा ।
तच्छिष्यस्य यदस्वत् कृतिरिय स्याद्वादमुक्तावली
तात्त्वीयीकृत्यानुमानविलसदगुच्छोऽप्यभूत् ॥ २५ ॥

24 The following verse is also wrongly recorded in the Cat as

चारिनित्त(त्य)गनाय समुल्लासनचन्द्रमा ।
न्यू भद्रो स मे दयात् गुरुचारिनसागर ॥

25 The MSS reads सूरि श्रीविजयप्रभ० indicating thus that the Padas abc are same as 25abc in the preceding stabaka

d प्यभूत् is written in the margin on the right Only six lines are written on this page More than half of the page is blank It is, thus, difficult to understand why the scribe preferred to write प्यभूत् in the margin Cat. records the line as सूरि श्रीविजयप्रभ तात्त्वीयीकृत्यानुमानविलसदगुच्छोऽप्यभूत् ।

In the centre, in a slanting manner the following words इति जैनविशेष-
तकं प० 120 are written in pencil 120 is written in Gujarati numerals

The usual colophons showing the end of the third stabaka and the end of the work are missing in the MSS

ABBREVIATIONS

Cat = Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute compiled by Kapadia Hiralal Rasikdas Vol XVII Part II Poona 1936 also Vol XVIII Part 1 Poona 1952 [Cat without any details thereof refers to this latter volume]

JSM = Śri Jaina Syadvadamuktavali of Yasasvatsagara ed Muni Śri Buddhusagaraji Ahmedabad V S 1965

JS = Jaini Saptapadarthi of Yasasvatsagara ed Muni Humamsuvijaya Ujjain 1934

JSSI = Jaina Sahityano Samkṣipta Itihasa (in Gujarati) by Desai M D Bombay, 1933

PNT = Pramananayatattvalokalankarah of Vadidevasuri with the comm Ratnakara vatarika by Ratnaprabhacharya ed Pandit Hargovinddas and Pandit Becardas Varanasi Veer Samvat 2437

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- 2 Kapadia H R Catalogue of Jain MSS (See Cat under abbreviations) Vol XVII Part II Vol XVIII Part I
- 3 Kapadia H R Śri Yasasvatsagara ane Syadvadamuktavali (in Gujarati) published in Śri Jaina Satya Prakasa Vol 3 No 9 pp 327 29
- 4 Vadidevasuri Pramananayatattvalokalankarah with the commentary Ratnakaravatarika by Ratnaprabhacarya ed Pandit Hargovinddas and Pandit Becardas Varanasi Veer Samvat 2437
- 5 Velankar H D Jinaratnakosa Poona 1944
- 6 Yasasvatsagara Śri Jaina Syadvadamuktavali ed Muni Śri Buddhusagaraji Ahmedabad V S 1965
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BOOK REVIEWS

Studies in the Upapurāṇas By Prof R C Hazra, Vol I (1958), Vol II (1963), Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, Nos II and XXII, Studies No 1 and 10, pp 308 and 574, Price, Rs 25/- and Rs 30/-

Prof Hazra is well-known for his studies on the Purāṇas, but these two volumes are possibly the most important of his works. For some unknown reason, the Upapurāṇas had been hitherto neglected by scholars, so much so, that Prof Hazra has been able to give a resume of the work done by predecessors in a single footnote (p 1)

In volume I Prof Hazra has described the Saura- and the Vaiṣṇava-Upapurāṇas, including sixteen lost Puranas. In volume II, has been described the Śakta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas both extant and lost

A noticeable trait in the field of Indology since independence has been the appearance of scholars who are either wildfire enthusiasts or professional debunkers, a third group consists of ideologues, bent on proving the theories which are now current in European seminaries. Prof Hazra in comparison may be said to belong to the older school of Indologists, who believed in objective study and clear presentation of facts in a language as precise as possible and at least free from all verbiage, and theories based on ideologies

Hindu religion, like other religions has three main components, namely, ritual, mythology, and metaphysics. It is the need for the first two, that compelled the Buddhists to adopt Tāntrik practices and circulate the Jātaka stories. So when the neo-Brahmanical movement began (probably during the Gupta age) Hindu mythology was either revived or recreated along with elaborate instructions for rituals, and the Puranic literature came into their full glory. It is possible that at the beginning of this neo-Brahmanical movement, the Brahmins had not yet developed any system of metaphysics or analytical tools which could withstand Buddhist logic, and the *Viṣṇudharma-Purana* reflects the helplessness of the Brahmin reformers when it states, that, in the Kali age even a fool gives an irrefutable answer by taking to the (heretical) way of reasoning (*hetu-vādāśrito muḍho dadaty=uttaram aksayam*)

Later the Brahmins evolved their own schools of logic, but at its commencement, the neo-Brahmanical religion like all other

religious movements, began as a movement of faith. Now, faith has been defined as "the power of believing what you know isn't true". This cynical definition may be true for many but religious faith may be defined as "the conscious result of superconscious experience which has not been translated into terms of brain-consciousness, and of which therefore, the normal personality is not directly aware, though it nevertheless feels, possibly with great intensity the effects, and its emotional reactions are fundamentally and permanently modified thereby". This modification (*cittasuddhi*) has been held to be necessary, and is demanded as an obligatory equipment to render thinkable the definitions and ideas of Indian philosophy. It has been said that this may be acquired through *Yoga*, but preferably and particularly for a householder, through rituals, which the *Puranas* prescribe with vivid mythological imagery, for, the performance of a ceremonial rite symbolically representing the working of the force personified as a god, has a marked effect on the subconscious mind of any person who is at all susceptible to spiritual influence.

This brings us to the problem of esotericism in Hindu religion. Today Hindu esotericism connotes tantricism which in turn is identified with *vāmācara*. We need not discuss here, as to how far these premisses are correct. But as the Sufi Saint Al-Hujwiri once said 'The exoteric aspect of Truth (religion) without the esoteric is hypocrisy, and the esoteric without the exoteric is heresy. So with regard to the law (Islam) mere formality is defective, while mere spirituality is vain'. This problem is to some extent solved by worshipping images, which has the peculiar power to turn the mind loose within determined limits and evoke a vision. Modern mind rejects such practices and visions as superstitions but as has been said

*deśe kale vayo' vasthā buddhi-sakty = anurupatah
dharma-opadeso bhaṣajyam vaktavyam dharma-paragath*

One of the main concerns of history is to interpret the past on the basis of the terms of reference valid for that age, which makes the study of the *Puranas* so important. Prof Hazra has therefore earned the gratitude of all scholars by bringing out these volumes which are of inestimable value for an understanding of the 'medieval age' of Indian culture.

The Guhilas of Kiskindha by Prof D C Sircar, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No XXXIV, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1965, pp 85, Price Rs 10/-

The work under review is based on the author's Nopany Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University during 1962-63, which

possibly accounts for its small size. For, under the modest title Prof Sircar has really thrown most valuable light on bigger and more interesting problems, namely, the origin of the Guhilas and the early history of Mewar. It is unnecessary to recount the merits of the work for which Prof Sircar's name is a sufficient guarantee. We therefore confine our observations to the few points on which we have ventured to differ from him.

While discussing the origin of the word 'Rājput' Prof Sircar has stated "The modification of the meaning of *Rajaputra* may be compared to that of the word *Rajanya* which is derived from *Rajan*, 'a king' and originally meant 'the members of the royal family, the king's relations'. Soon, however, the words came to mean the nobles, and finally it became a synonym of *Kṣatriya* even in the Vedic literature" (p 16) This does not appear to be entirely correct. For, in the *Purusasukta*, the warrior class is called *Rajanya*, while later, as in the *Brhadaranyaka-Upanisad* (1 4 11) the word *Kṣatriya* is used to designate the warrior class (This passage in the *Br Ar U* is extremely interesting for it gives a different account of the origin of the four castes, uses the word *Kṣatriya* in its later sense, and for *vaisya*, first uses the word *gana*, for which Śankara gives a very interesting explanation)

Prof Sircar then states "But *Rajanya* (which is the same as *Rajanya* as also *Rajanaka*, or *Rajanaka*, from which the well known subordinate title *Ranaka* was derived,) continued till the medieval age to be used as the designation of a class of feudatory chiefs" (p 16) In a foot note he adds "Sometimes *Ranaka* and *Rajanya* are mentioned as different classes of feudatories (Ep Ind Vol XXX, p 208, lines, 30 32)"

In this connection it may be pointed out that the land grants of the Sena kings mentions *Rājans*, *Rajanyakas*, *Ranakas* and the *Rajaputras*. It is evident therefore that *Rajaputra* though grammatically derived from *Rajan*, meant a different class of officers. It may be held that *Rajaputra* in the present context meant the sons of the king, since *Rājñi* is also mentioned in the same connection, however, in that case it would be difficult if not impossible to explain the significance of *Rajans*, unless it can be taken to mean feudatory princes, from this it would follow that *Rājan*, *Rajanya* and *Rānaka* were three classes of feudatory princes in descending order of importance, (cf *Rajatrayādhipati* of the Kalacuri inscriptions and also of the Gahdavala Govindacandra) *Rājñis* were female chieftains, while *Rajaputras* were another class of persons. The meaning of *Rājaputra* as "a class" rather than officials or "son of kings" finds support from the Bar-

rackpur Copper Plate of Vijayasena and the Naihati Copper Plate of Vallalasena in which Sāmantasena is said to have been born in the Rajaputra family Mr R D Banerji while editing the Barrackpur Grant suggested that the use of the word *Rajaputra* might indicate "that the Senas claimed to be Rajputs," but Mr N G Majumdar differed from him and in the *Inscriptions of Bengal* Vol III, *Rajaputra* has been translated as 'princes' We however prefer Mr R D Banerji's suggestion for a near-contemporary inscription uses the expression *Śri-Pratihara-vamsiya sarva-rajaputraḥ=ca*, (E I VIII, p 222) which clearly means all the Pratihara Rajputs Similarly Merutunga in his *Prabandhacintāmāni* has used the expression *Paramara-rajaputraḥ pañcasata*, that is five hundred Paramara Rajputs It is therefore quite possible that the word *Rājaputra* in the two copper plates mentioned above were used in the sense of Rajput It is interesting to note that in their early inscriptions the Senas are called *Brahma-Kṣatriyas*, then *Rājapura*, while later inscriptions call them *Kṣatriyas*

This brings us to the problem of the *Brahma-Kṣatriyas*, which Prof Sircar has discussed (pp 6-10), and have shown that like many other royal dynasties, the Guhilas were *Brahma Kṣatriyas* We should like to add here the example of the Gurjara Pratiharas, who did not call themselves *Brahma Kṣatriyas*, but were the offsprings of a Brahmana male and a Kṣatriya female, which according to Prof Sircar would entitle the progeny to be called *Brahma-Kṣatriya*

Thus we have (1) the Guhilas who were originally *Brahma-Kṣatriyas* but later known as *Rājputs*, Senas, originally *Brahma-Kṣatriyas* but later calling themselves Rajput (*Rājaputra*) and yet later *Kṣatriyas* and (3) Pratiharas descended from a Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriyā but later known as *Rājputs* Can it be therefore that the *Brahma Kṣatriyas* became Rajputs? The evidence given above may not be conclusive for such a conclusion, but may be worth investigation (People belonging to the Brahama-Kṣatriya caste are still to be found in Gujarat)

Prof Sircar next states that "*Rājputānā*, the land of the *Rājputs* is also called *Rājavadā* and *Rajasthan* which literally means the 'land of the Rajas'" (p 16) The question here is since when was the land so designated? Tod referred to the land as *Rajasthan*, and it is said that the British authorities preferred to designate it as *Rajputana*, to match with *Dīdwāna* or *Gondwanā* etc This point is of some importance, because it is usually taken for granted that *Rājputs* are those who live in *Rajputānā*

Prof Sircar states "Thus the Solankis (Caulukyas or Calukyas) and Rathoḍas (*Rāstrakūṭas*) are of Karnata origin, while the

Pratiharas were foreigners of the Hūna Gurjara stock" (p 17, This naturally raises several questions

(1) Several scholars favoured Pelliot's opinion that the Calukyas were originally Sogdians If Prof Sircar does not agree with this view, he should have given his reasons, as well as for holding that the Calukyas were of Karnāta origin

(2) What is "Huna Gurjara" stock? So long we were apt to think of the Hunas and Gurjaras as distinct from each other, if now, some reason has caused them to be hyphenated, that might have been explained, even if the view that Gurjara denoted a territory and not a race be ignored

About the Karnāta origin of the Rathods, though undoubtedly they first came into prominence in a Karnata country, it is remarkable that while in Karnata they almost vanished after the dynasty was overthrown, they flourished in north India It is interesting to recall in this connection that the old Raṣtrakuta-Pratihāra feud was not forgotten by them When during the reign of Aurangzeb, Durgadās Rathod raised the banner of rebellion on behalf of Jodhpur,—a Rathod State,—, her Pratihāra vassals of Mandor immediately rebelled against their Rathod overlords and ancient enemies This would indicate that the Rathods and the Pratiharas remembered their history only too well, and it is quite likely that just as Mandor was the home of the Pratihāras, though they carved out an empire in another region with capital at Kanauj, Marwar was the home of the Raṣtrakutas If a Karnata dynasty could settle permanently in Marwar, it is equally likely, for a Marwar dynasty to have carved out a temporary kingdom in the South A north-Indian origin of the Raṣtrakutas would also explain their repeated attempts to conquer north India

Prof Sircar is certainly right in holding that the Guhilas were originally Brahmins, (p 9), but as to their Maṭraka descent he says "If, however, the Valabhi association was a genuine early tradition, the Guhilas should probably have passed themselves as Maṭrakas which was the dynastic name of the Valabhi kings" (p 3) This reminds us of the Harsola grant of Siyaka II, in which it is stated that Vappairaya was descended from Akalavarṣa successor of Amoghavarṣa, from which it was concluded by Dr D C Ganguly that "the Paramaras were members of the Raṣtrakuṭa race"

It is not known why Vappairaya's dynasty chose to call themselves Paramaras Padmagupta's *Navā Sahasana carita*, written between A D 996 1000, is possibly the earliest record to describe

the dynasty as Paramara, as well as to mention the Agnikula-legend. Possibly this was due to the fact that at this date the Rastrakūta connection was no longer worth recording, and the Paramāra Emperors longed for a more exalted origin.

As for the Agnikula origin, there may be a substratum of truth on which the mythology was built by Padmagupta. Many Śaiva temples of South India employ certain non-Brahmins for some temple works, of those non-Brahmins, 'the Pallis or Vanniyans claim descent from the Kṣatriyas of Agnikula and Pallavas', and enjoy the right "of fire-walking in the temple at Tirupporūr near Madras". Even on this slender analogy it is tempting to suggest that the ancestors of the Paramaras were at one time engaged as fire-walkers in a temple at Abu, and just as the Vanniyans claim—rightly or wrongly—a Pallava descent the Paramaras claimed Rastrakūta descent, which being possibly far fetched or for some other reason not being adequate, Padmagupta created the myth.

It is therefore possible that after the fall of the Maṭrakas, the Guhilas preferred to call themselves by their sept name, just as the Mahāranas of Udaipur are better known today as Sisodiyas than Guhilas or Princes of Bundis as Hadas than Cāhamanas.

On pp 19-20, Prof Sircar has discussed the genealogy of the Caulukyas and seems to be inclined to reject the evidence of the Gujarat Chronicles, because they are contradicted by the inscriptions. Now, what the Gujarat Chronicles record is the manner in which Mularaja came to supplant the Cāpotkata king, and though Prof Sircar thinks the story to be 'fantastic', we find it quite realistic. On the other hand, what the inscriptions record is the mythological origin of the first Caulukya, and therefore there is no relation between the story of the Gujarat Chronicles and that of the inscriptions. However, not only the Chronicles but a Kadi Plate also give the name of Mularaja's father as Raji.

In this connection it is interesting to recall that the area round Bhavanagar, Palitāna, etc are known as Gohilwād, that is land of the Gohilas, and the Maharajas of Bhāvanagar claim to Gohilas. It would be interesting to investigate the claim of this area to be the original home of the Guhilas.

Prof Sircar has dedicated the present work to the memory of Col Tod, and we fully agree with him regarding the importance of Tod's work as an incentive to our nationalist movement. But Tod is not the best authority for the bardic chronicles of Rajasthan. That honour must go to Kaviraj Śyāmaladās, who started his work, the Viravīmoda, in 1879 and finished it after about two decades.

Syāmaladās was a Cārana by caste, but had no illusions about the historical value of the bardic tales, about which he is far more critical than Tod. Of course Tod's work which Syāmaladās had before him, must have been a great help, but the *Viravmoda* is an independent work, and Syāmaladās has criticized Tod whenever necessary.

It is unfortunate that Prof Sircar's work was confined within the limits of four lectures, but we hope that either he or some other scholar will deal exhaustively on the origin of the Rajputs and their illustrious clans. For the present, however, the work under review will rank as the most authoritative work on the subject.

Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform by Charles H Heimsath, Princeton and Bombay, 1964, pp 378 Price Rs 27.50

There exist two types of human groupings, one analogous to a living organism, while the other resembles a constructed edifice. So far as the Hindus are concerned, the living organism is the society, a supra individual reality based on certain fundamental concepts which express the human desires which created it and the obstacles which had to be surmounted, while State represented a 'territorial group' possessing an organization and equipped with forces for the defence of its frontiers and for the maintenance of social law.

There was no antinomy between these two groupings, on the contrary it was usual in historic periods for the one to contain the other in Europe, particularly in modern Europe, the State has contained the society, while in Asia, particularly in (Hindu) India the society has contained the State.

It is a moot point as to whether the ancient Hindus had any conception of State, or merely evolved a Government to protect the society and enforce the laws. Whatever it was, the end product of Hindu socio-political thinking, was a universal society, not a universal state. And so independent was this society of the state, that it maintained vigorous existence for centuries even when the destinies of state and government had passed into alien hands.

This society was divided into castes, for the arrangement was in accordance with a natural law which was both a law of reality and a law of value. This gave rise to a hierarchical society at the bottom of which were the masses and the inferior values, while at the top were a number of individuals with superior values, who provided the society with a visible, determinate, indestructible and authentic authority. But the power of the upper castes was neither absolute nor arbitrary, and the obedience of the lower

castes was not always forced, nor always contrary to their interests. At the different levels of the hierarchical structure different moralities held sway. A caste (more evident in the sub-castes) was a collection of individuals with similar destinies, a group considered in isolation and in abstraction from the totality. From the point of view of the society, however, caste or sub caste was a derivative group, in which common action resulted from spiritual community.

It has often been assumed that the Hindu society was static. Here it seems durability has been confused with immobility. For centuries it withstood persecution and temptation, but it never compromised, and a grim rigidity under all adverse circumstances made it superficially appear inflexible, but possibly added nobility to an ancient structure. It was a total war of existence, so the rules became progressively more strict and transgressions were punished with mounting severity, and in the process the upper caste women suffered most.

This was done consciously to make the society conform to the felt necessities of the time, and all the rules laid down in later Smritis and Nibandhas, which modern age found to be retrograde were really social reforms. Every commentator was a social reformer, but then change of time introduced new values. However, from the middle of the nineteenth century, it became necessary to determine the position of individuals *vis a vis* the society and to modify the clearly understood relations of the past into the framework of the slowly emerging Protestant-capitalistic society of England which the English educated Hindus began to imitate.

It is at this point of history that the Hindus became aware of Indian nationalism. The problem of an historian now is whether there was a meaningful relationship between social reform and nationalism. For, in the nineteenth century social reform to a large extent meant the imitation of the West. (This was of course true for the highly educated very few, but social reforms was confined to that class). Nationalism too, being fundamentally a Western concept, induced conscious imitation of the West, but there was a latent antagonism between the social reformers and the nationalists. "Nationalism" of any variety implied a consciousness of equality with the British, while reformation was impelled by a sense of inferiority. Nationalism was inspiration, social reform a responsibility, and whenever there was a union, it was a marriage of extreme inconvenience. Separation was deemed expedient as soon as the Congress was founded, that is the two movements could not be institutionalized under one organization. The other force which began to operate at this time was the Hindu 'revivalist' movement.

We achieved independence only eighteen years ago, and are still apt to glorify nationalism with the result that every genuine movement appears as a tributary to the struggle for freedom, and of course subordinate to it historically a religious revival now has value so far it helped the nationalist cause, otherwise to a modern Indian historian, it was a reactionary obscurantist movement

We hope that time has come for each of these movements to be analysed within its own frame-work of reference for, the study of modern Hinduism or society demands quite a different perspective, and may we add, a deeper knowledge of Indian history, than a study of nationalism, which is after all of recent growth compared to the history of Hindu religion and society

An example is afforded by the publication under review. For reasons not quite clear, the author has presented a summary of religious beliefs of the Hindus. Formerly, *Māyā* had an indefinable appeal for sophisticated Westerners which now seems to have been replaced by the *Bhakti*-movement, and we find our author stating on p. 32 "Among the *bhakti* saints the reforms in religious practices perhaps most generally subscribed to was a renunciation of idolatry." For this somewhat startling statement based on a verse from Kabir, the author may have relied on Prof. D. P. Mukherji's statement quoted in a foot-note on p. 38, but unfortunately almost every single statement in the quotation is wrong. The author would have been well advised to have left the Hindu religion severely alone, for his hurried generalizations are uniformly unsatisfactory even where they do not militate against known facts.

The main burden of the author's work is Hindu social reform movement of the nineteenth century though he has occasionally projected his study into the twentieth century as well. The interweaving of nationalist movement with social reform movement during this vast period is a formidable task and it can hardly be said that the author has succeeded in his attempt with the present work in which the chapters have the coherence of essays on particular subjects rather than the integrated approach of a study.

This is probably one of those 'scientific objective studies' which aim at collection of facts and therefore do not call for any analyses of evidences and assessment of their comparative values, still one would like to have the central motif of the work clearly defined what is reform in the context of the Hindu society, taking the early nineteenth century as the starting point of inquiry.

At that time—perhaps always—the Hindu society presented the co-existence of moribund ideas, morbid superstitions as well as

sagar On Vidyasagar's greatest achievement his remark is "Of all social reforms for which major campaigns were undertaken, widow remarriage reform actually produced the most meager results" (p 85) Undoubtedly true, if results mean the number of widows re married, even now the re marriage of a widow sometimes raises a flutter in the Hindu society which is usually kept hidden from foreign eyes and ears, and even among the Indian Muslims widow remarriage is not common¹ But one can hardly overestimate the tremendous impact Vidyasagar produced For the first time the Hindu society was forced to take a defensive attitude against an onslaught on their citadel not by foreign conquerors but by one of themselves Vidyasagar's tremendous blow galvanized the Hindu society and forced them to do something and thus began all the subsequent reform and the anti-reform movements Possibly, even more important was that the Hindus acquiesced to the Government having the power to change their personal law

Actually the author has made a detailed study of Ranade and the National Social Conference, which indeed forms the yardstick of his judgment As he remarks " Ranade set a unique standard for all who knew him and provides historians with an enticing glimpse of what modern India *might* have been" (p 178 author's emphasis) Later (pp 340 41) the author quotes Sri Aurobindo to the effect that Ranade's and Vivekananda's works were 'so wide and formless that it has little relation to any formal work that they have left behind them" The reference given is Ghose Bankim-Tilak-Dayananda, pp 41-42, but we failed to find the sentence there Sri Aurobindo differed radically from Ranade in his approach to social reform and wrote in the *Bande Mātarām* "Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation, to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility" (quoted by Karan Singh, *Prophet of Indian Nationalism*, p 82)

We have been unable to check another doubtful statement, namely that Sankaradeva was a Bengali Vaisnava (p 32) because in the reference cited the name of the author is not given, so that we have not been able to trace the work Most probably the author is referring to the famous Assamese saint, Madhavadeva according to the author, the most famous disciple of Sankaradeva may have been another Assamese saint, namely Kaviraja Mādhava Kandali But Madhava lived about a century before Sankaradeva

¹ As I was writing this review I read in an article by Sri K. Karappa There is still considerable reluctance and prejudice against the remarriage of a widow Today we have about 40 lakh widows against 85 lakh widowers *Caravan*, December 1, 1965, p 45

SUPPLEMENT

SUPPLEMENT

DEPOSED KING THIBAW OF BURMA IN INDIA, 1885-1916

INTRODUCTION

W. S DESAI

Between the 11th and 19th centuries A D there were three dynasties of Burmese kings the Pagan Dynasty 1044-1287, the Toungoo Dynasty 1531-1752, and the Alaungpaya or Kônbaung Dynasty 1752-1885 36 kings in all, of whom some 28 may be looked upon as all-Burma monarchs The last dynasty consisted of ten kings of whom Thibaw was the last, 1878-1885 During the reign of his grandfather's brother Bagyidaw (1819-1837), as a result of the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26), the British took from him the maritime provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim During the reign of Pagan (1846-53), Thibaw's uncle, the British took the maritime province of Pegu, also known as Lower Burma, together with Rangoon the greatest Burmese sea-port Hence Thibaw's father Mindon (1853-1878), who succeeded Pagan, ruled only over Upper Burma, the Shan princes being his vassals His territory was landlocked, and so for sea-borne trade was completely dependent upon the British who owned all the Burmese ports and the mouths of the two great rivers Irrawaddy and Salween Physically Upper Burma was a large country, about 200,000 sq miles in area, but the population was not more than four millions by guess The census of 1901 reports the population of Upper Burma to be just over five millions, and of Lower Burma also a little over five millions Towards the east and north-east Mindon's kingdom touched Siam (now called Thailand) and China respectively, and towards the north and north-west British India Mindon was very conscious of the realities of British power and his own weakness He pursued a peaceful policy, and not only kept his territory intact but also proved himself to be a vigorous and an able ruler throughout his reign of twenty-five years Thibaw succeeded him in 1878

Unfortunately the kings of Burma believed in large harems, and besides had made it a custom that the king's Chief Queen should be his half-sister There being no law of succession, and many claimants to the throne ever present, when one of the claimants emerged successful, a massacre of the other princes and princesses was often carried out so as to obviate rebellion The King at times exercised the right to nominate his successor, but this could not always prevent a war of succession Mindon had nominated his brother Mindat Min to be his successor This enraged two of the King's sons who conspired and slew the Crown Prince So when

Mindon lay dying, the question of a successor became a crucial problem

Mindon did have sons who were men of ability, but his Chief Queen¹ known as Hsinbyumashin, also called Alenandaw Queen, settled the matter by some means, fair or foul (which cannot be proved), in persuading her dying husband to nominate Thibaw to be his successor. She had three daughters but no son². Her plan was for Thibaw to marry one or more of her daughters which he did. She hoped to control both Thibaw and his queens, and thus make herself the factotum of the State. She won over the Wungyis the great Ministers of State, secured the throne for Thibaw, and had the other princes and princesses massacred, however some managed to escape. Her dream of controlling State affairs however did not materialise. Her daughter Supayalat, the Chief Queen, refused to be controlled by the mother, and she herself rather controlled the King her husband.

Thibaw was a Pali scholar and had earlier donned the monk's robe. That he should succeed Mindon was something unthought of domestically as well as popularly. It is even reported that when Mindon was asked to consider Thibaw he said "If Thibaw becomes King, the country will pass into the hands of foreigners". There is nothing to show that Thibaw himself desired the crown. He was not more than 19 years of age when his father died. To have declined the crown would have been more dangerous for him than accepting it. Though he had received some English education, his elder brothers, the Prince of Thonze, the Prince of Metkara, and Prince Nyaung Yan were recognized to be men of far superior worth. The problem of succession may be gauged from the complications of the King's numerous families. There was the Chief Queen, three other Queens, and fifty-nine other recognized queens who all lived in the Royal Palace. Forty-six of Mindon's sons were eligible to the throne being the sons of queens. However, Hsinbyumashin managed to steer clear through them all and had Thibaw crowned.

Eventually, however, the Chief Queen Supayalat made herself the ruling spirit in the State, the King and the Ministers being at her beck and call. Administration began rapidly to decline. There were conspiracies, rebellions and dacoites galore. Some of the princes who had escaped the massacre rebelled, but were crushed. There was civil war in the Shan region, while dacoits plundered even Bhamo and Sagaing. The Kachins came down and pillaged the

¹ Originally she was not the Chief Queen, but acquired this dignity on the death of her predecessor.

² Hsinbyumashin was not Thibaw's mother as erroneously stated by Professor D G E Hall in his *Europe and Burma*, page 166.

country almost up to Mandalay the royal city. Thousands of Thibaw's subjects migrated into British territory where ordered government prevailed. Revenues fell. Press reports said that in order to raise money "the whole of Mandalay was converted into a lottery on a gigantic scale. Thibaw was desperately hard up for money, trade had practically ceased. He knew all about this form of gambling long before the Irish Sweep proved its huge success"³ "Having hit upon the idea of a lottery to make money, Thibaw is now flooding the place with lottery offices, each of which has a different venture running and draws off weekly. The consequence is that the town is in a state of perpetual excitement. The king, it appears, was told of the stoppage of business. What other business, he asked, can show a return of 10,000 rupees for an outlay of 2 rupees?—There are neither buyers nor sellers to be seen in the bazaar, every one hovers about the lottery offices and longs for the drawings. The minds of the people are upset and they are in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement"⁴

In spite of these domestic troubles, it became an obsession with the ruling clique to recover the territory lost to the British, by cultivating friendship with France. The French had already established themselves in Indo-China and were determined to enlarge their empire in that region at the expense of Siam. In 1883 a Mission was therefore sent to Paris with this object in view. Mindon had also sent Missions to Europe, but they did not end in permitting any European country to have privileges in the Burmese kingdom. Thibaw's Mission however ended in an arrangement by which the French were to establish a Bank in Mandalay which would lend money to the King at 12% interest. Funds were badly needed. Above all the denizens of the palace needed money, so it must be procured. The French were also to manage Burma's Ruby Mines and enjoy the monopoly of pickled tea as securities for the loan. They were also to be allowed to build a railway from Toungoo to Mandalay, and as security for the same France was to control the River Customs and earth-oil dues.

This move roused the British to action. The French could by no means be allowed to sprawl in between British India and British Burma. Before a Franco-Burmese Treaty could materialise they acted. The episode of the British Burma Trading Corporation (Chapter I) precipitated the War and ended in the dethronement of Thibaw.

³ Quoted in Scott of the Shan Hills Edited by G E Mitton (Lady Scott his wife), page 13

⁴ G E Mitton (Lady Scott) Scott of the Shan Hills, page 13. This curious picture is undoubtedly overdrawn by Scott as quoted by his wife from his Journal. The writer says on the same page that Scott 'himself took tickets in the Calcutta Sweep for fifty years or more sometimes many more than one and never even drew a horse.'

and gave but little trouble He never presumed for one moment on his position to expect any preferential treatment he was of modest and trustful disposition, easily influenced for good or evil Unfortunately he was not long enough with us to strengthen the good points of his character" Thibaw had "so distinguished himself in his priestly studies (Pali) that his father, King Mindon, at one time thought that he was going to be the future Buddha (Pyaloung)" Marks further says that he wanted to visit Thibaw after the latter became King, but the Kinwun Mingyi did not grant him permission, and even threatened to expel him if he entered Burmese territory It appears that Marks's desire to visit his old pupil was never made known to Thibaw After the deposition, Marks in 1886 saw the Queen Mother and Supayagyı her eldest daughter at Tavoy The old Queen told him that 'King Thibaw frequently enquired after me, and expressed surprise that I had never visited him after his accession He evidently did not know the Kinwun Mingyi's threat which stopped me on my way to Mandalay in 1879'⁶

The maid of honour says that Thibaw was very much given to religion and very fond of sacred books He invited monks to the palace, and when a monk came he was made to sit on a chair, while the King sat on the floor Also that he was very fond of quoting from the sacred books and was full of proverbs and wise sayings⁶

An eyewitness's account of what Thibaw looked like during the lottery craze says that the king 'was dressed in simple Burmese fashion with a yellow putsoe or kilt like waist cloth and a white linen jacket Fixed into his 'yaung", the top knot into which the hair is tied was a magnificent spray of diamonds, and a sapphire ring⁷ worth a monarch's ransom gleamed on his finger In personal appearance however he has greatly fallen off When he acceded to the throne October a year ago he was very handsome, the handsomest Burman in the country it used to be said with a bright black eye and smooth olive skin Now his face is puffed out and bloated, his eyes sunken and dead, his whole appearance unwholesome and repulsive Altogether for a young fellow of twenty one he is the most satisfactory specimen of a 'frightful example' for temperance-lecturers that I know of'⁸ However, throughout his detention in India there is no indication in the Government Records that Thibaw drank intemperately, or even drank at all He was fond of pork

The present volume covers the last 31 years of Thibaw's life, but as ex King It furnishes an interesting picture of the ex mo-

5 Marks J *Forty Years in Burma* pp 218 219 227

6 Hall Fielding *Thibaw's Queen* pp 95 96 109

7 Was this the Nga mauk over the loss of which Thibaw lamented in Ratnagiri? See his Memorial Appendix XXVII also mentioned in Appendices XI and XXX.

8 Mitton G E op cit pp 13 14.

narch as a man, as a husband, as a father, as one running his own house with a host of servants, and as an ex-ruler kept in detention by his captors the British. The tragedy of his life in Ratnagiri was that though he was a Pali scholar and had been a monk, he was unable to adapt himself to his new situation from which there was no escape. He brooded over his fall, wished to spend money as a king in his palace of old, and would not permit his daughters to marry unless it be to "queens' sons" who unfortunately were not available because of the massacre. This it appears hastened his death at the comparatively early age of 58. He died in Ratnagiri, the place of his detention, on the night of 15 December 1916, and was entombed there in a mausoleum specially constructed for him.

Chapter I

HOW THIBAW BECAME A CAPTIVE

Thibaw, King from 1878 to 1885, was one of the many sons of Mindon who ruled over Upper Burma from 1852 to 1878. Thibaw was a mere youth of nineteen when he came to the throne on the death of his father. He was a Pali scholar, and had together with his seven other brothers received some modern education under missionary Dr. Marks at the Mandalay S.P.G. Mission School. He was considered to be a good pupil, and learned to speak and read English quite well. He was a pretty good cricketer too. After he mounted the throne however, he neglected his studies, and by the time (1885) he became a prisoner of the British his knowledge of English had disappeared for all practical purposes. Called to the throne from his monastery, where he was leading a monk's life, his interests as king centred round palace intrigues, and unlike his illustrious father he left all administration in the hands of his Ministers.

The English had already fought two wars with Burma, 1824-26 and 1852 respectively, and had with ease defeated Thibaw's grand-uncle Bagyidaw (1819-1837) as well as his uncle Pagan (1852), and had taken from Burma Arakan, Tenasserim, and the province of Pegu in Lower Burma including Rangoon and the mouths of the great river Irrawady. Both Thibaw and his father Mindon therefore ruled over merely Upper Burma cut off completely from the sea and from the mouths of the great rivers of Burma. The ultimate annexation of Burma to the British Empire was a foregone conclusion. The 19th century was an age of naked imperialism. If the British had not taken Upper Burma the French would have, and Britain could not afford to permit the French to drive a wedge between their Indian dependency and their territory in Burma.

Besides, British merchants trading in Burma from time to time lodged before the Viceroy of India numerous complaints of injustice and ill-treatment against the officers of the Burmese king. One case of alleged injustice was in respect of the treatment of the Bombay-Burma Trading Company. It was a British concern, and was accused of having fraudulently exported from the king's forests no less than 56,000 logs of timber. The case went up to the Hluttaw which was the Supreme Court, and the Company was called upon to pay a total amount of 23 lakhs of rupees royalty for the logs including fine. The case for and against the Company may be noticed in the letter¹ of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and the reply² of the Burmese Government to the Chief Commissioner. The Chief Commissioner said that injustice had been done, and suggested referring the case to an arbitrator to be appointed by the Viceroy. The Burmese Government upheld the sentence passed upon the Company, and refused to submit the case to an arbitrator. This refusal was not the underlying cause of Thibaw's dethronement. What was at issue was to prevent another European power from establishing itself in Upper Burma. The Chief Commissioner reported to the Viceroy that Mandalay had "invited other European powers or their subjects, who have no present interest in the Irrawaddy Valley, to establish themselves in Upper Burma as a counterpoise, check, or protection against British influence". Thibaw was proposing to grant to French subjects large concessions for the formation of a bank and the construction of a railway in his dominions. In the view of the Chief Commissioner there was no room for further communication with Mandalay, and the only course was to send an army and dethrone Thibaw. "If French influence ever became permanent in Burma", wrote the Chief Commissioner, "English interests there might be destroyed; and grave political complications might ensue. The French Government have apparently now declared that they have no part or interest in King Thibaw's effort to draw them into antagonism with the British in Upper Burma. So far then as European complications are concerned, the field is open for the removal of Thibaw from the throne".³

The upshot of the matter was that the Viceroy presented to Thibaw an ultimatum⁴ dated 22 October 1885 which reached Mandalay on 30 October. Thibaw was called upon to submit to the British and take the position of a feudatory prince, subject in all matters internal as well as external to the Viceroy. Thibaw would no longer be "His Majesty" but "His Highness" a title also given by

1. Appendix I. The Chief Commissioner's Letter.

2. Appendix II. The Burmese Foreign Minister's Reply.

3. Indian Foreign Dept Proceedings, August 1886, Secret E, No. 430. The Chief Commissioner's Letter to the Government of India, dated Rangoon 16 October 1885.

4. Appendix III. Demands of the British Government.

the British to the feudatory Indian Princes Thibaw's government firmly but courteously rejected the demand,⁵ and said that "the internal and external affairs of an independent separate State are regulated and controlled in accordance with the customs and laws of that State"⁵ But fearing the warlike intentions of the British, Mandalay offered to submit the Viceroy's demands to the joint decision of France, Germany and Italy "who are friends of both Governments", in the confidence "that the British Government will be of the same mind as the Burmese Government on this point"⁶

The Ministers as well as the King well understood the military superiority of the British, so they tried this diplomatic move to bring into the picture three of the states of Europe But it was in the nature of a drowning man clutching at a straw France was neither in a position at this time nor in a mood to oppose the British Bismarck of Germany was not much interested in matters colonial Italy was not a power of any significance at this time

In the meanwhile the British Irrawaddy Flotilla Company suspended operations in Burmese waters and British subjects who were operating the Telegraphs in Upper Burma withdrew into British territory They knew that war was a certainty This development alarmed Mandalay and Thibaw issued a Royal Order⁶ instructing his officers and people how they should conduct themselves if 'these heretic *kalas*⁷ should come and in any way attempt to molest or disturb the State' At the same time the British Commissioner was informed 'that if the British Government will not make any aggression on our towns and villages to the further injury of business and trade of our merchants and subjects, Burmese troops will not attack the towns and villages south of the stone pillars'⁸ Although the reply to the ultimatum was couched in a friendly, conciliatory and diplomatic tone, the wording of the Royal Order clearly shows that Thibaw and his Ministers well understood what was at stake, namely their national independence and "the degradation of our race' It angered them It was indeed a great shock They could not have thought that the British would go to these extremities Thibaw's order speaks of his desire to efface the heretic barbarians and annex their country in order "to uphold the religion' and the national honour

Although the Chief Commissioner wanted Thibaw dethroned, the preamble to the Viceroy's ultimatum shows that if Thibaw had readily submitted, most probably he would have been allowed to remain on his throne Chief Commissioner Bernard was himself

5 Appendix IV Mandalay's Reply to the British Ultimatum

6 Appendix V Thibaw's Proclamation

7 This is the Burmese term for foreigners that is those who have crossed over and come It became a term of contempt

8 Appendix VI Burmese Government's Letter to the Chief Commissioner

against annexation, and recommended turning Upper Burma into a feudatory princedom under a more suitable Burmese prince

Indo-British troops under the command of General Henry Prendergast were ready on the frontier. The ultimatum having been rejected, the Viceroy issued orders to the General to advance upon Mandalay and dethrone Thibaw.⁹ The Burmese Government had also strengthened with additional troops the frontier outposts. But it was of no avail. They were confounded at the rapid advance of Prendergast's flotilla of troops and warships up the Irrawaddy. When the news reached Mandalay Thibaw issued another Order¹⁰ proclaiming his resolution to fight the enemy, and if need be with himself in command of his troops.

Prendergast took the frontier forts of Minhla and Gway Geong Kanmyo on 17 November,¹¹ the Burmese losing about 450 men in killed and wounded. The next day his flotilla anchored without opposition off Yenangyaung, and on 22 November he reached Pagan.¹² Here the Burmese had 6000 troops and they fought bravely, but they were easily defeated with heavy loss.¹³ On 25 November the flotilla anchored for the night off the village of Yandabo.

On 26 November the fleet advanced with the object of capturing Ava one of the old capitals of Burma, but at 4 P.M. a Burmese war-boat bearing a flag of truce came down. The Envoys met General Prendergast and presented a letter¹⁴ from the Prime Minister the Kinwun Mingyi to say that the King was prepared to concede all the demands of the British ultimatum, but that sufficient time was not given to consider the demands. "We are grieved to find", the letter says, "that the English Government, which has always been so friendly, should in the present instance have made immediate war on us. We have simply resisted in order to maintain the reputation of the Kingdom and the honour of the Burmese people. The English are renowned for their just and straightforward action in all matters (political)," and so it was confidently hoped that they would not annex the Kingdom of Burma. Finally, that the King was willing to concede all the British demands "which were not at first allowed because we had not then sufficient time to bring them under consideration." The submission came however too late. In the meanwhile, it appears, that the British authorities had decided to annex Upper Burma.

Prendergast replied that the Viceroy had instructed him to advance on Mandalay the royal capital, so he was unable to enter-

⁹ IFDP August 1886 Secret-E No 494

¹⁰ Appendix VII Thibaw's Royal War Order

¹¹ IFDP August 1886, Sec.-E No 438

¹² Ibid No 441

¹³ Ibid January 1886, Sec E, No 750 Sladen to the Govt of India dated Mandalay 12 December 1885

¹⁴ Ibid. No 751 Letter dated 25 November 1885

I am not ill-treated. I will go anywhere with you. Will you come with me when I am taken away?"¹³

The Ministers assured Sladen that the King would be delivered to him the next morning or they would pay the penalty with their own lives. The Taingda Mingyi slept that night with a strong guard inside the palace in charge of the King. British troops occupied the Hluttaw where Sladen also made himself comfortable for the night.¹³

The next morning, 28 November, Thibaw was found in a state of panic, fearing British soldiers would break into the palace and kill him. Sladen went to see him in his private apartments and found him in evident alarm. The Burmese guards had left, and out of some 300 female attendants of the Queen only 17 faithful ones had remained. In the meanwhile, knowing full well that the King would be taken away, common women of the town entered the palace from the Western Gate and began to carry away whatever they could lay their hands on, and that in the very presence of the Queen, her mother and Sladen. Sladen advised the King for his own safety to leave the palace immediately. Thibaw did so and retired to the summer-palace.¹³ The King and his Queen had collected a large quantity of gold, jewelled vessels, etc, in a room, and fearing these also would be looted, Sladen placed 25 British soldiers under an officer to guard the place.¹³ He also placed guards round the little summer-palace and made the cryptic remark in his report, "and he was my prisoner".¹³

"The same afternoon", Sladen reports, "I handed him over to General Prendergast, and as soon as the necessary preparations could be made, the dethroned King walked out of his palace with the Queen (Soopialat¹⁸), the Queen Dowager (Maldawpyah¹⁹) and a few female attendants. They passed between double files of European troops, who lined both sides of the road from the steps of the palace to the eastern gateway. Here native carriages were in attendance to convey the whole party to the steamer, which was only at nightfall".¹³

It continues, "A crowd had collected at the landing place, which may have added somewhat to the responsibilities of the King. Here and there were heard wailings of women, and anxiety to see what was taking place, showed the demonstration, if it may be called one, which took place without further hitch or

tain any offer or proposals; that no armistice could be granted, but that if Thibaw surrendered himself, his army, and his capital to British arms, "and if the European residents of Mandalay are all found uninjured in person and property, General Prendergast promises to spare the King's life, and to respect his family". The General also promised not to take any military action against Mandalay, but that he would just occupy the city.¹⁵

The fleet advanced, and on 26 November anchored 7 miles below Ava. At 10 A.M. the Envoys came again. In the meantime Thibaw had ordered cease fire to all his troops, to let the British advance unmolested, and that he was conceding unconditionally all the demands. A few hours later the King ordered the surrender of all arms. This was done, including the forts on both sides of the River.

On the morning of 27 November the fleet was only 12 miles from Mandalay, and weighed anchor at 6.20 A.M. At 9 A.M. it reached Mandalay ghats, and the troops disembarked. The General now expected the King and his Prime Minister to come on board and surrender,¹⁶ but neither of them turned up although the Kinwun Mingyi had informed Prendergast that he himself would come.¹⁷

Col E B Sladen, the Chief Political Officer, then with two followers only, boldly entered the fort. The palace guards were on duty, but they did not stop him. He then saw the Kinwun Mingyi coming towards him at full speed on his elephant. He said to Sladen "On no account let the troops enter the palace. Will you come in with me alone".¹⁸ Sladen then entered the Hluttaw and sat down. Thibaw was ready to receive him, the Queen and the Queen-Mother also being present. Sladen says that the King at first spoke nervously, and then in a formal and impressive manner said, "I surrender myself and my country to you. All I ask is, don't let me be taken away suddenly. Let me have a day or two to prepare. I will leave the palace and go into a summer-house in the palace enclosure".¹⁹ Sladen said that the General of the army was supreme, but that he himself will not press for harsh measures, and he advised Thibaw to prepare for immediate departure from his capital and country.²⁰

There were rumours afloat that the King was preparing to flee and had 50 elephants ready. British troops therefore closed all the palace gates as well as the outside enclosures. Sladen asked Thibaw of the possibilities of an attempted flight, on which the King said "Where can I go to? I have no wish to go away. I wish to remain, now that you are here.²¹ I know you

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid. No. 752.

17. Ibid. No. 754.

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Sladen continues, "A crowd had collected at the landing place, and darkness may have added somewhat to the responsibilities of the situation. Here and there were heard wailings of women, and the crowd in their anxiety to see what was taking place, showed signs of impatience; but the demonstration, if it may be called one, was feeble, and the embarkation took place without further hitch or incident".²⁰

13. Ibid. No 750

18. A foreign mispronunciation of Supayalat.

19. The Hsinbyumashin. Queen-Mother

20. IFDP January 1886, Sec E, No. 750, Sladen's Letter from Mandalay, 12-12-1885.

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¹³ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid No 752.

¹⁶ Ibid No 754.

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¹⁸ A foreign mispronunciation of Supayalat.

¹⁹ The Hsinbyumashin Queen-Mother

²⁰ IFDP January 1886, Sec E No 750, Sladen's Letter from Mandalay, 12 12-1885

The following is an eyewitness account of Major Edmond Charles Browne who took part in General Prendergast's advance upon Mandalay. It is best reproduced separately, for it is not only more pointed and interesting than Sladen's official report, but also marked by a tinge of poignancy --²¹

"The troops now fell in by brigades on the broad space between the water's edge and the lofty earthen bund which runs parallel to the stream as a protection against periodical floods. It was arranged that columns should enter the city, as far as possible, simultaneously on all four sides, concentrating round the palace enclosure which was situated in its centre. So many were the demands for mounted men, that I had some difficulty in retaining an officer and twenty men as a personal escort for the general, whose staff I joined myself.

"A little after midday the bands struck up and the march began. We advanced by what is known as the A Road. It does not lead straight to the city, and it becomes necessary to make a turn at right angles to the left, and then again to the right, in order to reach the south gate.

"After about an hour's march along the thoroughfares at least fifty yards wide, covered with refuse and filth of all sorts and infested by pigs and dogs, the walled city suddenly broke upon our view. I had seen it before years ago, but it had since been much beautified, and I confess I had not retained a correct idea of its extent and grandeur. There was an amplitude and vastness about the whole thing which was refreshing. The lofty red brick walls, crowned at intervals with graceful and finely carved spires, then the broad green grass space beneath, which has since been converted into a racecourse, then a lovely moat of clear, placid water, eighty yards wide, then a road fifty yards broad which environed the city outside the moat. The circumstances too were grand and momentous, even more so than the scene. There was a glorious uncertainty about what would happen next which always has its charm. We were told that we should find the city gates thrown open, that the soldiers would lay down their arms and the king surrender himself, but we were quite prepared for a very different reception. No one really knew what was going to happen, and it was quite on the cards that when we were well under the walls, we should be greeted by volleys of musketry. For all this we were perfectly prepared. But nothing happened. We crossed the handsome bridge, and defiled through the "King's Gate" with as little concern as if this foreign capital had been in our possession for a hundred years. There were very few people about the broad streets,

²¹ Browne, E C *The Coming of the Great Queen* A Narrative of the acquisition of Burma pp 174 187

within the walls, and those whom we saw squatted in the doorways and stared at us with impotent indifference At the gates, some of the soldiers remained in the guard rooms, but they at once surrendered their arms when called upon to do so, and helped to pile them into lots I was directed to take my mounted men round the walls outside, in case there should be any effort made to carry off the king in the last moment, but no such ruse was attempted We rode round the eastern and northern sides, and re-entered the city again by the gate in the centre of the latter, and eventually pulled up outside the palace stockade already referred to

"Here all the troops now assembled and the men were allowed to fall out I entered the gate and joined the general's party assembled outside the great gate of the king's palace No one seemed to know what the next move would be, as that would depend a good deal on the political officer who was at this time in His Majesty's presence

"After some time Colonel Sladen appeared He seemed much moved by his audience with the king, and urged upon General Prendergast the desirability of giving him another day of freedom "He is quite calm and resigned", he said, "but he wants time he wants as much time as we will give him" After some discussion, the general agreed to give the king another day, but he impressed upon Colonel Sladen the necessity of making it quite clear to His Majesty that he must be ready to surrender himself by noon on the following day A guard of two regiments, the Hampshires and Madras Pioneers, was placed in the palace, and strong guards were posted on each of the city gates The remainder of the troops returned to the ships

"Orders were issued on this evening for a second, and triumphal entry on the morrow

"The different columns started about 10 a m, by the same routes as were taken on the previous day, the troops entering by the different gates to their rendezvous outside the palace enclosure The general and his staff assembled at the grand entrance to the palace, and there awaited the intimation of the political officer that the fallen monarch was ready to surrender his person We waited, it appeared to us, an interminable time, until indeed, even the marvellous equanimity and calmness of the general showed signs of giving way Like a true soldier and gentleman, as he was, he desired nothing less than that any action of his should show want of respect, or feeling, for the king in his present delicate and painful position

"At length Colonel Sladen appeared and said that the king wanted another day's law. To this the general gave a very firm negative, and the former re-entered the palace gate. He shortly afterwards returned with the announcement that the king would receive the general.

"The great gates were now thrown wide open, and the Hampshire Regiment marched in. When the leading files reached the foot of a flight of stone steps which led to the hall of audience, the men were halted and a line formed with ranks facing inwards with fixed bayonets, from this point to the outer enclosure of the palace grounds. Through these ranks the captive monarch must pass.

"The procession was now formed at the aforesaid main entrance. It was headed by the eight principal ministers. I thought, considering the circumstances, their manner and bearing was dignified and self contained. There were one or two rather good faces, and one or two decidedly bad ones. They were all dressed in the finest of white linen—white kerchiefs²² encircling their brows. The most remarkable characters amongst them were the Kenwoon Menghee²³—a little fussy old man who had been prime minister for many years, and the Timedar Menghee²⁴, whose name, both before and after the annexation, has been so much before the public. In appearance he was a short, stout, comfortable-looking man of about forty.

"All being ready, the procession moved off, headed by the political officer. We crossed the palace yard, and reached the foot of the steps, on each side of which were two enormous cannon, at least twenty feet in length. Slowly the fat ministers ascended the steps. We passed through the Hall of Audience (This is surmounted by a lofty spire which is called "The centre of the universe"), with its gilded pillars, at the far end of which is situated the king's throne. Leaving the throne on our left, we threaded our way through a labyrinth of passages and buildings—through gilded saloons and halls all ablaze with mirrors, at length descending a flight of steps and entering a garden with paved walks, tanks and fountains of water, fairly-sized trees and walled enclosures.

"Having passed through two or three of these enclosures, we came in sight of a little summer-house at the far end. In the verandah sat a young Burman, apparently quite unconcerned, and behind him squatted a couple of women, one old and scraggy, and the other young and not ill-looking, while two or three other women peeped through a half-open door at the back. This must evidently

²² Head-dress or the Burmese pugree called the gaung baung which is a square piece of coloured cloth here white, as a sign of mourning.

²³ Kinwun Mingyi

²⁴ Taingda Mingyi

be the "King of Kings" himself, for Colonel Sladen, removing his hat, bowed low, and the white-robed ministers prostrated themselves until their brows kissed the cold earth at their feet. The fat-cheeked lad remained unmoved but on closer inspection his face bore unmistakable evidence of the dread which had taken possession of his soul.

"The guard of soldiers was drawn up not far off, and now the general advanced and bowed respectfully to the king.

'The young woman was no other than Queen Soopyah Lat, and the old lady her mother, who had so long enjoyed the reputation of being the instigator of all the massacres which have disgraced Theebaw's reign. She was small and withered, and one failed to detect in her looks the evidence of the resolution, sagacity and daring with which she has been credited. The scared eyes of the women wandered restlessly from Colonel Sladen to the general, and thence to the guard and their gleaming bayonets.

"A long conversation now took place between Colonel Sladen and the king, all of which was interpreted to the general. It ran somewhat thus:

'Sladen. This is the English general, your majesty. He has come to request you to keep your promise of yesterday, and to surrender yourself to his charge.'

King. Will the general spare my life, and the lives of my family?

Sladen. Certainly, your majesty, he will treat you with great respect and consideration, and will allow you to take anyone you please with you, together with your personal property.

King. Will the English soldiers protect me from my own people?

Sladen. The general will see that you are surrounded by soldiers on your way to the ships.

A pause followed this.

Sladen. Are there any of your ministers whom your majesty would desire to accompany you?

There was here a slight stir amongst the magnates referred to, who all this time had remained prostrated with their hands clasped, and their faces on the ground.

King. When I go into captivity those who love me will follow me, but those who like themselves best will stay, and look after their own property.

Sladen now addressed the ministers, asking them if any would desire to accompany the king to Rangoon. After a pause one old fellow rose slightly, and expressed his willingness to accompany his

master, and later on another mumbled something. The king meanwhile regarded them with a somewhat scornful, incredulous look in his small eyes. He then shook his hand angrily, intimating that he would have nothing to say to any of them.

King You must come with us, Sladen, as you are an old friend.

Sladen I regret this is impossible, your majesty. My duties will detain me here.

As the day was wearing on, the general impressed upon Colonel Sladen the necessity of persuading his majesty to prepare for his departure. He did so, but the king showed no signs of moving. Colonel Sladen then pointed out to the king that the general wished to treat him with every respect, but that he could not agree to any further delay.

King How much longer will I be allowed, then?

The General (looking at his watch) Ten minutes."

"On this the general once more bowed to the king and moved away. We spread ourselves over the gardens and grounds and waited events.

"The whereabouts of the general was clearly visible by the presence of the "Union Jack", which Captain Lindsell commanding the escort, bore aloft, and not a step was our Chief allowed to move without this visible emblem of British nationality.

"The ten minutes had become an hour, and yet there was no sign of a move on the part of the royal household. Transport had been provided for the king's property, and hospital doolies were in readiness to carry the many ladies of his suite.

"The royal party were now seen moving towards us. They were walking along the paved path which led from the little summer-house. Theebaw, his wife, and mother-in-law were in the front, the women clasping the king's hands, then followed two or three ministers, and the political officer, about twenty women and girls, some with babies in their arms, some dressed in their gayest colours, some with roses and orchids in their hair, and all carrying boxes containing their earthly goods, closed this unique procession, which moved at its own pace through the many-chambered palace, along the winding corridors, and through the gilded saloons.

all ablaze with mirrors It entered the Hall of Audience, passed the throne, and stopped at the head of the steps already referred to, which led to the ground level where the soldiers were formed up These stood in their ranks below—silent and grim—their bayonets glancing in the sun No wonder there was a check, but it was not for long, a few kind reassuring words were spoken and the procession passed onwards through the ranks, and reached the outer gate

"Here were two small carriages The king, his wife, and the old queen mother entered one, and some lesser personages entered the other The ladies of the court turned up their little flat noses at the doolies, and preferred to walk, the guards, composed of my own men and the Welsh Fusiliers, closed round the carriages, the bands struck up, and the brigade moved off

'The day was already far spent, and even had we been able to proceed without checks to the river's bank, it would barely have been reached by sundown, but, as it was, there were many stoppages The roads were awful, and the bridges and culverts in a rotten state To make things worse the head of the column took the wrong turning, making a difference of a couple of miles in our march Night came on and the carriages trundled along over ruts and stones The crowds increased tenfold with the darkness but it was a suburban crowd and quite harmless Still a rush might have been made and the traps over-turned, when anything might have happened, but nothing did, and we at length, with much satisfaction, came in sight of the lights of the steamers As I rode alongside of the king's carriage I couldn't help calling to mind the fate of the Delhi princes²⁵

'We all pitied the poor little "maids of honour", as we called them They walked the whole way, and some of them were by no means in a condition to undergo such trials They were utterly exhausted when we reached the steamer but had pertinaciously stuck to their bundles Strangely enough, they had chatted merrily with the soldiers on the way down, Tommy Atkins, not understanding a word, grinning a grim reply The poor girls were really very frightened, and thought that by practising their winning little ways on these great rough-looking men, the latter would be more likely to protect them

"One episode caused some laughter All Burmese women smoke, if anything, they are greater smokers than the men On her way down her majesty the queen thought she would tranquill-

²⁵ After the British had crushed the Mutiny (1857), Major Hodson captured the last Moghul Emperor Bahadur Shah and his two sons who had taken refuge in Humayun's tomb While they were being escorted to the city on approaching the Delhi Gate the Major shot the two princes for fear an attempt might be made to rescue them.

lise her nerves with a weed. She had a tobacco leaf, but no light. With characteristic frankness, she put her fair head out of the *gharry* window, and asked the nearest soldier for a match.

"What does she say?" said the man. She held up her cigar to express her desires and quite a rush took place to supply the required light. She honoured someone smiled, and began puffing away.

The steamer was reached, and the whole party crowded on board. The saloon was positively crammed with women. The king went straight into his cabin on arrival. Every comfort was provided for him; he was left entirely unmolested, and on the following morning the *Thurreah* left for Rangoon.²⁶

On 2 December Thibaw and party arrived at Allanmyo in British territory, on the steamer *Thooria*.²⁷ The same day Chief Commissioner Bernard penned the following words of human feeling to Dr Marks: "There seems a chance of your soon seeing your long-lost and much-cherished pupil. Ex King Thibaw was today at Minhla on board the *Thooria* on his way down the river. I can't help feeling some sympathy for the poor creature in the plight to which he has come".²⁸ Thibaw reached Rangoon on 5 December. His party at this time consisted of himself, his two wives (Supayalat and Supayange), two daughters (Ashin Hteik Su Myat Paya Gyi and Ashin Hteik Su Myat Paya Lat) the Queen-Mother and her eldest daughter Supayagyi, 10 ladies of royal descent, 50 female attendants and children, 8 officials with their 5 male followers 80 persons in all. Out of these, sixty were not willing to accompany Thibaw outside of Burma. The following agreed to go with him: his two wives, his children, 13 female attendants mostly little girls, and one Court official the Padein Wun and his son, about 20 in all.²⁹

Thibaw had with him valuables worth anything from four to seven lakhs of rupees. These they were allowed to retain.³⁰ It appears that they had also some valuables on their persons, but they were not searched.³¹ The Viceroy ordered that Thibaw "should have a thoroughly honourable and comfortable treatment on board the ship".³²

The question now was where Thibaw should be interned or detained. Bangalore, a cool station in Mysore State, was suggested,

²⁶ Throughout Major Browne's account with one exception, the small 'g' is used for General Prendergast while the capital 'C' is used for Colonel Sladen!

²⁷ IFDP January 1886 Sec E No 284

²⁸ Marks J E. *Forty Years in Burma* p 12

²⁹ IFDP January 1886 Sec E No 293

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid No 289 Chief Commissioner's telegram to the Viceroy 7-12-1885

³² Ibid No 287, Viceroy's telegram to the Chief Commissioner 6-12 1885

but it was pronounced unsuitable, a quiet place being preferred and not an important centre. The Governor of Madras suggested Ranipett³³ near Arcot in the Madras Presidency which the Viceroy approved, but later it was decided to keep him temporarily in Madras till a more suitable station could be selected. It was feared that from Madras he might be tempted to escape to French Pondicherry.³⁴

From the river steamer Thibaw was shifted to the ocean steamer *Canning* on which he left Rangoon for Madras on the evening of 10 December accompanied by his family, 17 female attendants, and two of his court officials, a son of one of the latter being an interpreter—all under a European Guard of one Company of the Liverpool Regiment. There went with him also a second interpreter and Cox a British Burma official of the Burma Police. The Queen Mother, the Kinwun Mingyi, the Myothit Atwinwun and the Kyaukmyaung Atwinwun remained in Rangoon on board the *Clive* for the time being.³⁵ The old Queen and her eldest daughter Supayagyí (also a wife of Thibaw, but discarded as such) and 12 female attendants were later shifted to Tavoy.³⁶

There is no information as to what Thibaw felt as the steamer took him away from Rangoon and the River to the ocean, and as the shores of Burma faded from his sight. He and his queens must certainly have shed tears. They did not know the world indeed not anything much of Burma, and even not much more of Mandalay. They knew the palace. Now they were on the ocean which it is certain they saw for the first time. Together with all the nightmare of his dethronement, he was now moving towards an unknown destination to spend the rest of the years of his life in exile. He was at this time only 27 years of age. He may have heard from his teacher Dr Marks of Napoleon the great empire builder, administrator and military genius who gave to Europe one of the most thrilling periods in all history. Napoleon's ambition was to rule Europe, but British tenacity, economic superiority and diplomacy ultimately overthrew him after a grim and prolonged struggle. He indeed conquered all Europe, but failed to retain possession, and was ultimately banished to the lonely rock of St Helena, being only 46 years of age. As he was being taken away on a British warship on an August morning, he also set his eyes through the mist on the fading shores of France which he loved and which he was never to see again. There is no comparison between the two exiled monarchs, one before whom mighty kings and nations trembled, and the other, who though King, was not master even in his own palace. Both became prisoners of

³³ J G Scott in his *Burma from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* confuses Ranipett with the Hill Station Ranikhet near Mussoorie

³⁴ IFDP January 1886 Sec-E, Nos. 286, 290 292 311

³⁵ Ibid. Nos 298 302.

³⁶ Ibid No 301

the British. Napoleon wanted to spend his last days either in Great Britain or in the United States of America, and Thibaw, though provided with comforts in Ratnagiri, longed to be back in Burma, but their desires were not fulfilled. The great conqueror was meanly treated in his bleak island-prison, while two generations later the other monarch was on the whole treated with consideration and sympathy by the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, and particularly by the British and Indian local officers in whose charge he was, at first for a few months in Madras and later for over 30 years in Ratnagiri.

Three weeks after Thibaw's departure from Rangoon, Viceroy Dufferin issued the following proclamation simultaneously in Rangoon, Mandalay and Calcutta:—"By command of the Queen-Empress it is hereby notified that the territories formerly governed by King Thibaw will no longer be under his rule, but have become part of Her Majesty's dominions, and will during Her Majesty's pleasure be administered by such officers as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India may from time to time appoint".³⁷

European opinion, particularly in Rangoon, was strongly in favour of annexation of Upper Burma. The Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, which was a European body, was in favour of this step in the cause of British trade. They represented to Chief Commissioner Bernard that no prince of the Alaungpaya house should be set up because of its traditions of cruelty and misrule, that no descendant of the founder of the dynasty was fit to rule even with limited powers, and finally that the Burmese people had no real loyalty towards their king.³⁸

The annexation however was in keeping with the imperial policy of the times. It made no difference whether the Tories or the Liberals held the reins of government in Great Britain. Perhaps it was good that Burma was thus unified again under one administration, though it be under foreign administrators. Ultimately it proved to be a further step towards the modernization of the country. In spite of their haughtiness and superiority-complex as rulers, the British have during the modern age proved to be the least undesirable of all the colonial and imperial powers of Europe.

Chapter II

THIBAW IN MADRAS

Madras was not the place chosen for Thibaw's detention. The matter was under consideration of the authorities. Even when

37. Ibid. No. 516; 30-12-1885.

38. Ibid. No. 448; 4-12-1885.

finally the choice fell upon the out of the way Ratnagiri, about 120 miles south of Bombay by sea, he couldn't be shifted there for some time because Supayalat, his senior Queen, was expecting a baby. Thibaw and company landed in Madras on 15 December 1885. The Master Attendant brought them to the pier whence accompanied by an Under-Secretary of the Madras Government and escorted by mounted police they were taken to the house where the Chief Secretary, Political Department, the Inspector-General of Police, and a member of the Government received them¹ The house was in the nature of a commodious well furnished palace called "The Mansion" owned by Raja Gajapati Rao who it appears was a Zamindar.²

Thibaw expressed himself greatly pleased with his treatment on board the ship and with the arrangements made for his landing Lt. Col. H.W.H. Cox, Assistant Inspector-General of the Burma Police, who knew Burmese, was placed in charge of the ex-King. Thibaw and party were permitted to send telegrams and letters to their relatives and friends in Burma and elsewhere, and receive communications from them, after having been passed by the Political Officer in charge. To his mother-in-law the message was: "Arrived Madras safely. Well treated and comfortably housed by English Government. Letter will follow."³ The message to his old Ministers was: "Arrived here safely. Well treated by English Government; also allowed to take drive in town".³ In reply he received the following telegram from the Queen-Mother: "Telegram received. We in Clive—Queen-Mother, Tavoy".³ Since the reply from the Queen-Mother took time to come, Thibaw felt very uneasy and sent another telegram: "Report state of health and where you are".³

The Governor-General issued a Warrant of Detention⁴ for Thibaw, dated Calcutta, 31 December 1885 under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. This was renewed every year.

Cox, who was in close touch with Thibaw, says that the reports he had heard that the ex-King was a nonentity were not true, and that he "is certainly not the simple-minded unsophisticated youth of whom his countenance speaks".⁵ Thibaw was very fond of flowers and "examines carefully those new to him".⁵ He wanted to visit the Museum, but Cox did not permit it. When the Viceroy heard

1. Ibid, January 1886; Sec.-E, No. 316 Memo as to Thibaw's reception and safe custody in Madras. In this chapter the material gathered is from Cox's nineteen reports on Thibaw. All the Proceedings are labelled Secret-E. The numbers indicated (as also throughout the book) are in general items as they came up for consideration, during the month and year, before the Governor-General-in-Council or any other authority as the case might be.
2. Ibid, July 1886; No. 463. In 1962 I went to have a look at the palace and to take a picture of the same, but found it demolished. Material was coming in for a new structure to be put up in its place
3. Ibid. No 461.
- 4 Appendix VIII. The Warrant of Detention.
- 5 IFDP July 1886; No. 160

about it he disapproved of Cox's action and directed that Thibaw be allowed under escort to move about in the city, and that he could visit the Museum during the hour when the place was closed to the public⁶

Since Supayalat was expecting a baby, Thibaw wanted Pounnas (Brahmans) from Mandalay to cast the child's horoscope, but this was disallowed on the ground that Brahmans were available in India⁷ Accordingly, therefore, a Panchangam Brahman was introduced to him Thibaw felt satisfied that the method of casting horoscopes employed by South Indian Brahmans was identical with that practised by the Mandalay Brahmans⁸ He ordered a gold platter decorated with rubies all round, three feet in diameter, on which to receive the new infant The gold in the platter was 700 tolas weight worth Rs 13,000 It was studded with 150 rubies The gold and the rubies belonged to Thibaw, but the Government paid the making charges⁹ Thibaw was disappointed that Mandalay Brahmans were not allowed to come to offer prayers and perform ceremonies on the third day after the child's arrival¹⁰

The ex-King was quite fond of ham, and soon after coming to Madras he suffered from dyspepsia because of over indulgence in this article of food Dr Branfoot, the Civil Surgeon, however, soon cured him of his trouble¹¹ Newspapers reported the death of his white elephant at Mandalay but Thibaw showed no grief, and simply said "it must have died of starvation"¹² According to Chief Commissioner Bernard Thibaw knew no English, but Bernard was mistaken Missionary reports show that before he came to the throne Thibaw was able to write and converse in English quite well Later it is certain he lost ground due to palace environments where the sound of English was not heard Cox reports that one day he heard him speak in English after he had his food he said to the butler "Take all these things away" He desired to improve his knowledge of English and in Madras as well as later in Ratnagiri he asked for a tutor, but no competent teacher could be found in Madras thoroughly acquainted with both Burmese and English¹³

6 Ibid No 467

7 Ibid January 1886. Pounnas are mixed descendants of captive Manipuri Brahmins brought by earlier kings of Burma They are clad in white longyis, Burmans always wear coloured longyis with the exception of course of the monks whose colour is saffron.

8 Ibid No 469

9 Ibid Nos. 470, 474.

10 Ibid No 477

11 Ibid No 459

12 Ibid No 460 White elephants were highly valued in Burma, being an emblem of sovereignty and imperial power Kings even went to war to obtain possession of the same from neighbouring kings who owned them They were taken care of with extraordinary regard, and even human milk was provided for the favoured animal who with his trunk drew the liquid from the breasts of women who were made to sit in a row

13 Ibid. No 472.

Thibaw at times indulged in political talk, but his politics was confined to the matter of the loss of his throne. He protested that the breach with the British was due to the ignorance of Burmese officers of English etiquette. As to the first collision at Minhlha, he said, that the Burmese gunners fired out of fright, or may be in salute to the English.¹⁴ He averred that he had the kindest feelings towards Englishmen, and that he himself was the mildest and most amiable of men. When Cox said "We judge of others by what they do and not by what they say", Thibaw kept perfect command over his features, "but there was an evil look in his eyes".¹⁵ He said that he was not responsible for what his Ministers did, for they often did the opposite of what he directed them to do. There is much truth in this his assertion. However the Ministers did all things in the King's name, so that royal control over the Ministers depended upon the monarch's personality. He told Cox that his father Mindon once ordered one of his sons to be imprisoned, but the Ministers had his head cut off, and for many days Mindon did not know of it, and that any way there was no remedy for the mistake.¹⁶ It is very doubtful indeed if Thibaw's illustration was a historical fact. It would rather be correct the other way round, that is for the Ministers not to execute a delinquent at the King's command, knowing full well that their royal master was in a rage and did not really mean it. It is also true, that though the Burmese king was a despot, a constitutional tradition had become established that when the Hluttaw came to a certain decision on any matter, the King approved of it. He may in his wrath take drastic action against his Ministers or even order an execution but he was not expected to override his Council. In order to save themselves from Royal wrath, the Ministers, before coming to a decision over a knotty matter, used to discover the King's mind about it through his Atwin wuns or the Interior Ministers or Private Secretaries, two of whom were always in attendance upon him or kept in close vicinity to him at all times. It is very doubtful therefore if Thibaw's Ministers in resisting the British acted in independency or contrary to the King's desire.

In his conversation with Fanshawe the Assistant Political Officer, who later succeeded Cox as Political Officer, Thibaw said that a Frenchman came to Mandalay and inoculated his Ministers with republican ideas. The result was that the Hluttaw got split into two parties. The disloyal ones, "such clever rogues", he said strove to embroil him with the English Government. He felt aggrieved that these were the men whom the British had now employed in their service, while "I, their innocent victim, am in exile and disgrace".¹⁶ Thibaw however said that he would not make his

¹⁴ Ibid. No 459

¹⁵ Ibid. No 463. To contradict the King was a capital crime

¹⁶ Ibid. No 481

statement in writing because it could be turned and twisted against him, but that he would only state it verbally to prove his innocence and loyalty to the English. As to the Embassy he sent to Europe, he said, his object was to place a check on the republican tendencies of the disloyal Ministers. As to the Viceroy's ultimatum, he said, that the Ministers never showed it to him. But at the same time Thibaw protested that his reply to the Viceroy was a complete surrender, and that he did not sign his document of surrender because the Viceroy had not signed his ultimatum; and finally that the Ministers tampered with his reply.¹⁶

It is quite true that the Foreign Minister Kinwun Mingyi showed keen interest in the constitutions of England and France, also that the ultimatum was signed not by the Viceroy but by the Chief Commissioner Thibaw claimed not to have seen the ultimatum, still he knew quite well that it was not signed by the Viceroy. Cox in his report says that Thibaw's defence was like that of Pat the Irishman and his borrowed kettle. When sued he swore that he had never borrowed it; second that he had returned it in good order; and third, that it had a big hole in the bottom when lent to him. So Thibaw's version is that he never received the ultimatum, that his reply was a complete surrender but that it was tampered with, and that he was prevented from sending an answer at all.¹⁶ It has been noted in Chapter I that Thibaw was willing to surrender, agreeing to all the terms of the ultimatum, but it was too late. British authorities had by then decided to annex Upper Burma. Thibaw, however, held on to his theory or opinion, and often expressed himself in this strain in Ratnagiri also.

Thibaw was quite inquisitive as to the nature of British administration in India, and also made many enquiries about English social customs.¹⁷ It seems he read newspapers in Madras, for Cox says in one of his reports that the ex-King "missed his daily newspaper". Not that it was not allowed, but Cox had withheld a particular issue because of many references in it to Thibaw's alleged complicity in the murder of some three European employees of the Bombay-Burma Trading Company.¹⁸ It is certain, however, that Thibaw had nothing to do with these murders. Some attributed them to him because popularly but mistakenly it was believed that he was responsible for the murder of his brethren the princes and princesses when he ascended the throne. He must indeed have known of the nefarious deed, but the massacre was the work of his redoubtable mother-in-law and some of the Ministers.

Thibaw and his Queens did not get along well with their Burmese servants in Madras. In Mandalay the servants were really

16. Ibid. No. 481.

17. Ibid. No. 459.

18. Ibid. No. 460.

slaves Now that they had become British subjects they were no longer slaves Those eighteen years of age and over could quit if they so chose Even those who were minors could not be forced to serve if they did not want to, and the British Government which had brought them over would have to undertake the guardianship, or find guardians for them Besides, these attendants well understood the changed position of their master and mistresses In Mandalay they had to grovel before them and put up with oppression and indignity They could be beaten and even sentenced to death Because of the changed situation they now did not respect these ex-royalties as before, and so there was trouble

In January 1886, one Maung Au presented himself at the gate of "The Mansion" with a letter from one Symes¹⁹ which certified that the bearer was the husband of Taungzin Minthami one of the nurses of the Queen Maung Au had come to fetch his wife He was not allowed to enter the compound, but the news filtered through, and Taungzin in her excitement wanted to rush to her husband Thibaw and his wives feared they would lose her services Taungzin said that she would *never* forsake the Queens, and that if her husband were allowed to see her he would also stay on to serve Thibaw When questioned, Maung Au said that if his wife would not accompany him, he would return alone to Burma to his two children²⁰ The matter was referred to the Government, and the reply was that Taungzin was at liberty to decide for herself whether to stay on or go with her husband, but that if she went for an interview with her husband she would not be allowed to return to "The Mansion" Thibaw was very anxious for her to stay on, but she decided to accompany her husband, Cox says apparently with great reluctance Thibaw was quite annoyed and demanded from her a valuable diamond necklace, which, he said, was loaned to her Taungzin said that it was a present, but she gave it up It is extremely doubtful if Burmese Royalty could have loaned an article of jewelry to a mere maid The Queens were so annoyed with her that the poor girl was afraid to take leave of them She went away with her husband²¹

Immediately after this episode a telegram came for another nurse, Mongyn Myoze, from her father directing her to return home She however at once decided not to, and wired to her father that she was very comfortable and happy, and would return later The maids were feeling home-sick, and Thibaw feared they would all want to return to Burma The girls were not exactly Burmese

19 Mr Symes' as Cox calls him a British officer of the Burma Government. Of course not the Envoy Capt. Symes who was sent to Bodawpaya's court in 1795 and again in 1802

20 IFDP January 1886, No 469

21 Ibid. No 470

but belonged to hill-tribes of the north-eastern frontier of Burma. They had been purchased from their parents at Bhamo when quite young. But now they were free being British subjects, and were happy in their new position²². Apodaw Mahta, an elderly half-witted woman, supposed to be in charge of the maids, one day climbed up a tree and refused to come down, but she climbed down like a squirrel when she was told that Thibaw would be brought out to her. She was still conscious of the old fear²².

It was the practice for Royal servants not to ask for anything but to accept what the royalties gave them. The waiting maids needed ribbons for their hair and tore up the turkey-red outer case of one of the mattresses. When Cox realized the situation he supplied them with the ribbons needed²³. Once Thibaw complained that he needed more servants since he and his wives had to manufacture their own cheroots²⁴. Multiplying servants was his weakness right up to his death. This is because he was used to many more attendants in Mandalay. At the same time he told Cox that time hung heavily on his hands for want of occupation. He therefore wanted books from Rangoon²⁵. Still throughout his stay in Madras he never once came out of the house, not even in the extensive compound, but the Queens walked in the garden once or twice²⁶. It is possible he did not come out because when he wanted to visit the Museum his request was turned down by Cox. This must have offended him.

In February 1886 two maids struck work one day, and Thibaw ordered the young Page to chastise them which he did in Burmese fashion. He seized them by the hair, made them lean forward, and hit the upper part of the back with his elbow. They wept and returned to duty. Immediately, it produced a wholesome effect upon the rest of them²⁷, but ultimately it made matters worse.

Soon after, Thibaw complained that the maids were not respectful to the Queens, were noisy, and used improper and immodest expressions in his hearing²⁸. In March 1886 nine of the maids mutinied three of whom were Christians, their ages varying from 13 to 17 years^{28,29}. The reason was that the Padein Wun chastised them without cause and without Thibaw's orders. They all demanded to be sent back to Burma. They complained of unreasonableness and severity of the Senior Queen. Cox says "They are told off into two batches of six each, and each watch is required to remain kneeling but awake in the ex queen's apartment for half the

22 Ibid

23 Ibid No 469

24 Ibid Nos 470, 474

25 Ibid No 460

26 Ibid Nos 470, 474

27 Ibid No 478

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²² Ibid

²³ Ibid No 469

²⁴ Ibid Nos 470, 474

²⁵ Ibid No 460

²⁶ Ibid Nos. 470, 474

²⁷ Ibid No 478

night. If any girl is caught napping she is slapped and scolded." Fanshawe succeeded in restoring peace between them and Thibaw, but Supayalat could not be appeased³⁰. She would not allow them to enter her presence and desired to keep only five maids who had shown no symptoms of discontent. Matters worsened, for the Queen gave presents of jewelry and cloth to the loyal maids, and this exasperated the others still more. They annoyed the Queen by laughing and making a noise in spite of the remonstrances of Thibaw. The ex-King complained to Fanshawe that their behaviour was intolerable. In recording his opinion, Fanshawe says that he did not find their behaviour objectionable. The root of the matter was that these royalties found it difficult to face the stark fact that they were no longer in their Mandalay palace, while the maids were very conscious of their new freedom. Thibaw now required that the seven maids in question be sent back to Burma³¹. They were all Kachins³². All the seven girls were then taken on board the *SS Asia* for Rangoon. There they immediately repented with tears and wanted to go back to the Royalties, but it was too late. The steamer took them away³³. There was further trouble. The Page, Padein Wun, refused to accompany Thibaw to Ratnagiri. Cox told him that in that case he would have to leave 'The Mansion' at once and find his own way to Rangoon. He agreed and left the house³⁴.

One Mrs Wright, a certificated midwife, was installed in the palace for the Senior Queen³⁵. She was told by one of the maids to remove her shoes before entering the Queen's apartment and go about on all fours as did the Burmese servants. The midwife enquired of Cox who told her on no account to do so, but pay respect in English fashion. Mrs Wright told the Queen so and the latter made no reply. The Ayahs however were made to crawl, and they complained of sore knees, but Cox did not interfere, and left it to them to crawl or not to crawl³⁶.

One evening there was a commotion in the nursery. The interpreter Maung Gyee and the head nurse Monyin Minthami were found in improper relations by an assistant nurse who remonstrated with the man. Maung Gyee struck her unmercifully. She shrieked and took refuge in Thibaw's room and told him of Maung Gyee's evil doings. Maung Gyee now became a discontented grumbler³⁷.

28 Ibid May 1886 No 223 July 1886 No 482

29 Ibid January 1886 No 481 May 1886 No 223

30 Ibid. January 1886 No 481

31 Their names—Meunlagyi alias Mary aged 15 Thauyi alias Evelyn aged 15 Teunbyagyi alias Augusta aged 15 Wahthau aged 14 her father was Aung Than in Prome, Nan Pau aged 15 adopted by the Taungyi Princess Minlwin aged 17 and Hemau aged 13. The last two claimed protection from the Taung Myoza Prince at Mandalay Ibid Nos 223 225

32 IFDP July 1886 No 484

33 Ibid. January 1886 No 469

34 Ibid. July 1886 No 470

35 Ibid January 1886 No 478

On the whole Thibaw got along well with his two wives who were full sisters and also his half sisters³⁶ The Senior Queen expressed a desire to adopt the English costume, but Cox discouraged it³⁷ The first thing the Queens did every morning was to crawl before Thibaw with offerings of flowers after which they could stand or sit in his presence³⁸ This must have been the custom in his old palace the Burmese way of paying homage

In February the Junior Queen suffered from fever and proved to be a troublesome patient She declined to show her tongue to the doctor and even refused to take the medicine prescribed She just tasted the castor oil mixture and asked one of the maids to report on the quinine mixture When the maid made an unfavourable report she refused to take it All the same she recovered quickly³⁹

Supayalat gave birth to a female child on 7 March 1886 Dr Branfoot who was to have handled the case declined, because when ever the Queen had pain she called the shampooer who had been specially procured from Burma He thumped and squeezed the parts which the doctor objected to but in vain Besides the doctor's directions were ignored Cox spoke to Thibaw about it and that he would have to choose between the shampooer and the doctor Thibaw said that the shampooer alone was no good, and that proper medical attendance was needed Cox remarks 'The fact is that he is completely under the Senior ex queen's thumb that he has no will of his own The doctor's terms were not accepted However the labour proved to be of short duration and the doctor had no need to be present Mrs Wright the midwife did everything⁴⁰

A few days after the confinement the Queen flew into a terrible passion Cox says that Thibaw completely cowed fled for his life After a while he made several ineffectual attempts to conciliate her with peace offerings of sorts but whenever he approached the storm began to rage more violently than ever' Peace was ultimately restored when the shampooer interceded on Thibaw's behalf⁴¹

Thibaw greatly desired that his wives be visited by European ladies This request was granted but later the Viceroy disapproved of too many visitors Cox's wife visited them Later five other ladies also came and expressed a desire to see the ex-King too Thibaw responded and met them in the drawing room Cox, how-

³⁶ All the three wives of Thibaw were full sisters and his half-sisters It was the royal Burmese custom for the King to marry a half sister in order to maintain the purity of dynastic blood No wonder some of the kings were hypochondriacs

³⁷ IFDP January 1886 No 459

³⁸ Ibid No 460

³⁹ Ibid No 477

⁴⁰ Ibid June 1886 No 130

⁴¹ Ibid July 1886 No 480

ever, disapproved of this development and said that it would not be allowed again⁴² Mrs Grant-Duff and Lady Gregory also came to see the Senior Queen, and many others besides⁴³

The presence of the ex-King of Burma in Madras attracted various kinds of visitors for business purposes, but they were not granted entrance. There is the interesting case of a Frenchman, a Corporal in the French Army, who wrote to Thibaw addressing him as "Monsieur Thibo roi en Bormennie", volunteering his services "in the war impending with the English", and promising him an easy victory. Cox sent the letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government⁴⁴ The letter however came too late! It should have been in Thibaw's hands some six months earlier. Autograph hunters also came, but Cox turned them away⁴⁵ The Viceroy had given strict orders as to it "the ex-King should not be allowed to distribute his signatures. He is a prisoner"⁴⁶ One day a Frenchman named de Facien arrived from Rangoon and wanted an interview with Thibaw, but was not permitted. He wanted to sell to Thibaw satin worth Rs 3000. The Police kept a good watch on him. The Viceroy had warned the Madras Government of the danger of Thibaw escaping to Pondicherry. There was no likelihood at all, however, of Thibaw attempting to do so. Throughout his exile of 31 years in India there is no evidence of any such plot or attempt to escape anywhere. But it must be conceded that Government had to be careful.

The Viceroy came on a visit to Madras in March. On hearing of it Thibaw became very inquisitive as to the Viceroy's plans⁴⁷ The Viceroy, however, did not call on the ex-King. No Viceroy ever visited Thibaw, but one Governor of Bombay, some Commissioners, and many Collectors did visit him. Thibaw was very anxious to learn what the plans of the British were as to himself. He put many questions to Cox. How the fate of Burma would be decided? Would he be allowed to return to Mandalay? What did the Government of India intend to do with him? When Cox told him plainly that he would be shifted to Ratnagiri and that he would have to live all his life under detention, he was much affected, and requested Cox that the members of his suite be not told of it⁴⁸

During his kingship Thibaw had sent an embassy to Europe. Some of the envoys were still in Europe when Thibaw was dethroned.

42 Ibid Nos. 471 476

43 Ibid January 1886, No 477 It is possible Mrs. Grant-Duff was the wife of the Governor of Madras, the Hon'ble M. E. Grant-Duff, who in 1887 received the G C S I.

44 Ibid July 1886 No 461

45 Ibid January 1886, Nos. 470 474

46 Ibid July 1886, Nos 475, 476

47 Ibid. No 479

48 Ibid. No 471

They ran short of funds and from Paris cabled the Kinwun Mingyi for money⁴⁹ They were, however, supplied with funds by the British Government, and on their way by boat to Calcutta they landed at Madras They came to see the ex-King at "The Mansion" but were not permitted, so they left for Calcutta the same evening⁵⁰

A photographer was anxious to take the pictures of the Burmese Royalties It was a good business proposition for him Thibaw said that since neither he nor his Senior Queen had brought their state robes with them it could not be done, but that the Junior Queen and his two children could be photographed. The next day he showed Cox a locket containing a photograph of himself and Supayalat seated in State He wanted it enlarged The picture was very small, 1½" x 1" Supayalat objected to the picture being copied, because, she said, it did not make her look sufficiently beautiful It was a locket picture and showed a defect in her right eye The photographer promised to rectify the defect in his copy,⁵¹ but it is not known if he was entrusted with the work A few days later the group photograph was taken, but without the Junior Queen who found two essential articles of jewelry missing, and so refused to be photographed These articles were not lost, but she had left them in Mandalay Thibaw said that a large photograph of himself was left in the River steamer when he was transferred from the *Thooria* to the *Canning* in Rangoon Those who sat for the photograph were the two princesses, two nurses and Thibaw's interpreters One of the interpreters said that Thibaw was uneasy and anxious, fearing his personal retinue would be reduced, and that behind the photo business the English Government had designs upon his life⁵² When the photographs arrived he wanted to send a copy to the Governor but was not permitted He offered a copy to Cox, but the latter excused himself on the ground that Government servants were not allowed to accept presents⁵³

Although Thibaw and his wives never went out for a drive, the members of their suite did in carriages provided by the Government They did shopping under escort⁵⁴ Traders were warned that all business they transacted would be at their own risk All purchases were checked by Cox with the object of preventing extravagant expenditure⁵⁵ Thibaw was spending money freely out of his private funds During the first seven weeks of his stay in Madras he spent close on Rs 7000 Openly and secretly he sold his jewels, and it appears that go-betweens and traders made unfair gain out of

49 Ibid. No. 465

50 Ibid. No. 474

51 Ibid. No. 462

52 Ibid. Nos. 462, 463

53 Ibid. No. 466

54 Ibid. January 1886, No. 459

55 Ibid. July 1886, Nos. 467, 483

him He bought a gold repeating-watch for Rs 1000, two sewing machines, two opera glasses, a number of hand mirrors, portmanteaus, etc, but the bulk of his expenditure was on clothes⁵⁶

Bored, because of want of company, Thibaw requested that three of his old Ministers be sent for He named the following the Le-gain Wungyi, the Myathit Atwinwun, and the Kyaukmyaung Atwinwun The Chief Commissioner of Burma, when consulted, said that it would be unwise to send them, for Thibaw might want to set up a sham court in India However, the three ex-Ministers were contacted, and they were all unwilling to go⁵⁶ Thibaw also desired the Dowager-Queen, his mother-in-law, to join him and his Queens,⁵⁷ but she also refused to come, and said that she and her daughter (Supayalat) did not get on well together⁵⁸ Thibaw however had a soft corner for his mother-in-law, was always concerned as to her welfare, and was very happy to hear from her When she was shifted from Rangoon to Tavoy he received the following telegram from her "Quite well Living Tavoy Have sent you letter" Thibaw was very happy to get it⁵⁹ As later events proved however, it was distance lending enchantment to the view!

It has been already noted that when Thibaw surrendered to Sladen in Mandalay the latter entrusted a lot of valuable royal property to a British military officer and his men The ex-King now requested that some of these things be returned to him including his and his Queen's waist clothes, a black panther skin, certain medicines, calendars, books on horoscopes, etc He also said that certain articles of his property were, he was sure, stolen by his own people on board the *Clive*⁶⁰ As to the property in Mandalay, the Chief Commissioner replied that one of the jewelled gold boxes was worth nearly one lakh of rupees and was being sent to England, and that it would be undesirable to hand over State jewels of great value to Thibaw Search was made for the panther skin, etc, but nothing was forthcoming⁶¹

Thibaw wanted to send gifts to the Rangoon Shwedagon Pagoda on the occasion of the Senior Queen's birthday and his own, but failed to obtain permission It was felt that his connection with Burma should not be kept alive⁶² The Chief Commissioner telegraphed "I would not recognize or have anything to do with Thibaw's gifts to temples in Rangoon We do not want to keep alive his connection with Burma If he can afford and send money privately to friends or to temples, we need not interfere But we

56 Ibid January 1886, Nos. 324, 327, 815, 817

57 Ibid No 471

58 Ibid May 1886, Nos 32-36

59 Ibid July 1886, No 466

60 Ibid No 468

61 Ibid May 1886 Nos 125 129

62 Ibid January 1886, Nos 815, 817

should decline to take part in or to sanction public endowments by him".⁶³

It was all arranged now for Thibaw and party to proceed to Ratnagiri. In view of this he offered some precious stones to Sergeant M'Coy who was attached to "The Mansion", while the Senior Queen offered a ruby ring to Dr Branfoot. It appears that these two men reported the matter to Cox who enquired into it. Thibaw said that he simply wanted M'Coy to take the stones to Orrs (the Jewellers of Madras) to be set, while the Queen said that she showed the ring to the doctor, and that she would give it to him after permission had been obtained. The next day one of the Ayahs produced a currency note of Rs 50⁶⁴ given to her by Thibaw and his Queen. But Thibaw swore that he had nothing to do with it. Cox returned the note to him and told him that if it happened again the Government would take charge of all his property.⁶⁵ This was nothing but "much a do about nothing". The Doctor and the Sergeant could have politely told the royalties that it was against Government rules to accept presents, while the poor Ayah should have been allowed to retain the fifty rupees at least in consideration of the crawling that she had to do.

Thibaw and suite left Madras on 10 April 1886 by SS Clive for Ratnagiri. Captain Powell of the ship had made every arrangement for his comfort. He was allowed to give a cloth to each of his servants who remained behind being not willing to proceed to Ratnagiri. The ex-King desired to throw Rs 150 for the people waiting at the gate of "The Mansion" to scramble for as he left. He was told that it would be objectionable, and he at once yielded. Cox says that he was quiet, dignified and cheerful, and that he expressed sorrow at leaving Madras, but did not show it. Cox returned to his duty in Burma, and Fanshawe now took charge of the party.⁶⁶

Chapter III

EARLY YEARS IN RATNAGIRI, 1886-1890

Before Thibaw left Madras arrangements had been made in Ratnagiri for his accommodation and comfort.¹ There was no one house big enough for the party, hence two houses were rented. One

63 Ibid September 1886 No 140 The Chief Commissioner's Letter dated 17-1 1886

64 In those days currency notes of this denomination were in vogue

65 IFDP July 1886, No 482

66 Ibid No 484

1 Prof D G E Hall in his *Europe and Burma*, page 181, says that from Madras Thibaw was taken by rail to Ratnagiri fortress. There was however no rail service to Ratnagiri nor is there any yet. Ratnagiri does have a fort consisting of a series of fortifications on the high headland which forms the west end of the north arm of Ratnagiri harbour (Bombay Gazetteer). Ratnagiri was, as it still is an open town. Its population then was about 15 000. The fort has been out of repair for over a hundred years.

was Outram Hall² belonging to the Burway family represented by Rao Bahadur Narayan Wasudeo Burway, at one time Dewan of Akalkote. The other house was called the Baker's Bungalow the proprietor being Rao Saheb Bhaskar Vishnu Phadke. These were the only two best and commodious houses in Ratnagiri. They were within 400 yards of each other, somewhat isolated but near to the European area. They faced west and north-west respectively, and overlooked the sea, commanding the most picturesque panorama on the western coast. The old town of Ratnagiri, buried among the cocoanut trees, lay to the west at the foot of the eminence on which the two bungalows stood. The town police lines stood immediately below them. To the north of the houses was a difficult ravine with a perennial supply of excellent water. Some years later when plague broke out in Ratnagiri many huts were constructed near this stream by people who fled from their homes. This area then came to be fouled and the ravine with it. To the east was a laterite plateau through which passed the Amba Ghat Road leading to Kolahpur. The lines of the headquarters police with the European quarter lay to the south. The only access by wheeled conveyance to these two bungalows was by two roads from the south and south-east respectively. A guard-room was specially built between the two houses commanding the road from the town and thus protecting both the houses.³

When rented by the Government both the houses were in a very bad condition. But the landlords carried out the repairs necessary and put them "in excellent shape". Government took them on a lease of ten years, the rent being Rs. 80 p.m each. Fanshawe was now immediately in charge of Thibaw and company as well as the whole establishment. The Collector of Ratnagiri was entrusted with the general supervision, and Fanshawe was to correspond through him.⁴

W.H. Probert the Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Presidency of Bombay arrived in Ratnagiri to receive Thibaw and take official charge of him. SS Clive anchored in harbour at 1 P.M. on 16 April, and the Commissioner went on board to meet Thibaw and the Queens. The next day at about 7 A.M. he went on board again and brought off the whole party. Not more than twenty of the public were present as spectators. Thibaw expressed himself much pleased with the accommodation provided. The two bungalows were indeed handsomely furnished and were very comfortable. He said that some one had told him that the climate of Ratnagiri was very bad, and that if he left the house he would probably be eaten by tigers or jackals. The Commissioner assured him

2. Named after Major Outram a brother of Sir James Outram.

3. IFDP June 1886, Sec-E. No. 137.

4. Ibid. No 138.

that there were no tigers found anywhere within one hundred miles of Ratnagiri⁵

Two carriages were attached to the bungalows at the disposal of Thibaw. A supply of ice and fruit was sent down from Bombay twice weekly. But since steamers did not ply during the rainy season an ice machine was installed in the campus. A police Inspector was employed as Superintendent of the household, and two trustworthy peons were on duty as messengers for Thibaw. The Civil Surgeon was directed to visit the compound and premises daily to see to the sanitary arrangements but it was not necessary that he should visit Thibaw unless he was sent for⁶

Thibaw's party at the start consisted of 26 persons including seven domestics. Besides Fanshawe, two Police officers Eaton and M Coy as well as five Ayahs accompanied the party, but all these with the exception of Fanshawe returned to Madras. Fanshawe suspected that the two police officers had surreptitiously accepted presents of precious stones from Thibaw, but he was not inclined to search their baggage^{5,6}

Thibaw had in his possession a large quantity of jewels etc. In Madras he had disposed of some of these articles and had spent the proceeds recklessly. On board the ship too neither he nor his wives were careful of their property. Fanshawe says that diamonds and pearls used to get detached from their settings and roll about the deck until found by some one and restored to their owners. One day Fanshawe found Thibaw and his queen showing the Ayahs their gold plate and jewels. Government got concerned over the situation and so the appointment of a Superintendent was sanctioned to guard against thefts. A Eurasian nurse, Mrs Dracup of Bombay, was also installed in the house. Fearing Thibaw would secretly dispose of his jewels and be cheated out by the traders and go between, an inventory⁷ of all his jewels was taken⁸. However within ten years of his arrival in Ratnagiri Thibaw managed to sell off all his jewels openly as well as secretly. The local officers felt sure that not only traders but at least one of the political officers had been in the habit of tricking the ex-monarch

Orders arrived from the Viceroy that the style of address for Thibaw should be the same as for Indian Princes, namely, "His Highness the ex King Thibaw"⁹. This was a great come down for Thibaw. He felt it, and later, it will be seen, he requested that he be addressed as His Majesty". It was a human feeling. In spite of their great fall Thibaw and his wives tried to keep up a show

5 Ibid November 1886 Sec E Nos 378 389

6 Ibid June 1886 Sec E, Nos 142 143

7 Appendix IX. The Inventory

8 IFDP November 1886 Sec E Nos 370 381 382 392

9 Ibid. July 1886 Sec E, Nos 265

of royalty so far as their own employees were concerned. Fanshawe says that their Burmese servants used to remain on all fours with their heads touching the ground and their hands clasped pointing in the direction of the ex-King and queens so long as Thibaw was present. This performance used to be in full swing on board the ship too. The Madras Ayahs and other Indian servants also clumsily imitated the Burmese attendants. Fanshawe told Thibaw that the respectable Portuguese butlers and Ayahs who were from Bombay would refuse to perform such antics. They did not do it and Thibaw did not object.¹⁰

As to the palate, the Collector says, 'The ex-King and suite are very fond of pork, and during May the obtaining of pork from Bombay in ice was a most expensive item'. Hence pigs were bought and kept in Ratnagiri. Punkhas were also fixed in the two houses, and men and women employed to pull them night and day.¹¹

Although Thibaw seemed to be getting along well, he was really brooding over his downfall and captivity. He was also concerned over the large quantity of jewels that he had handed over to Sladen in Mandalay. On 24 June 1886, therefore he addressed a Memorial¹² to the Viceroy. In this memorial he submitted that as King of Burma he was always friendly towards the British, and just and fair in his dealings towards British subjects in his dominions, that as to the Bombay-Burma Company's case his orders were for a fair trial, and that even after the judgment he had reversed it, that when the British invaded his country the resistance offered by his troops was contrary to his orders, so he was not responsible for the war; that he had surrendered to save bloodshed that when he gave himself up he did not know that he was to be a prisoner, and that Col. Sladen had assured him that he would be taken to Calcutta to discuss matters over with the Governor General after which he would be restored to his throne.

As to his present situation, Thibaw said in his memorial, that during all his captivity he had tried to please the British Government in every way, and had never been guilty of any breach of faith. Consequently he should not be considered as a prisoner of war. As to Ratnagiri, he said that it "is a very unpleasant place to live in, as there are a great many snakes and scorpions, and he can compare Ratnagiri to the wild villages of the Kachins and Karens. He has only a small brick-house to live in, and he is guarded by a party of sepoys". Further he complained that the climate of Ratnagiri did not suit him and that he was not comfortable, that he was transported for life from his country without a trial, and that he would like to have a fair trial.

¹⁰ Ibid. November 1886 Sec E Nos 318 319

¹¹ Ibid. Nos 370, 381, 382, 392

¹² Appendix X The Memorial.

Thibaw's outstanding request in his memorial was that he should be "allowed to return to his own country on any conditions that the British Government may make, and that if he then misbehaves himself in any way, he will be quite willing to be sent back and placed in confinement". Finally he requested that the property that he made over to Sladen, as per List¹³ be restored to him.

Of course there was no chance whatever of Thibaw's restoration to the throne. The Viceroy wrote to the Bombay Government that the ex-King be informed that his Memorial had been received, but that Burma was now a part of Her Majesty's dominions, and that he cannot under any circumstances be allowed to return to Burma. As to his jewels the Viceroy said that an enquiry would be made, but that Government could not undertake to restore them since he had left large debts behind him. Finally, that Thibaw had been liberally treated and had been allowed to retain a good deal of property that was in his possession¹⁴.

The Chief Commissioner of Burma instituted enquiries with regard to the jewelry, and wrote to say that none of the articles in the list were with any Government officer in Mandalay, nor could any be produced. "All the jewels and other portable property found in the palace on the 30th November, which was not taken by the ex-King and his fellow-deportees, was made over there and then to the Prize Committee under the orders of General Prendergast. I am to remark that the ex-King, Queen, and Queen-Mother took with them jewels and other property valued at the time at about seven lakhs of rupees. The estimate it was afterwards discovered was below truth".¹⁵

Lt Col Budgeon, the Prize Agent and Chairman of the Prize Committee, also made his statement¹⁶ explaining the items that he identified and their disposal, and articles that could not be identified. The total amount realized by the Prize Committee from the sale of property found in the palace was Rs 4,77,705-1-3.¹⁷ Besides, under the Viceroy's orders some articles were sent to the India Office to be shown to the public. Certain other articles were sent to the Chief Engineer, Calcutta, for disposal, among which were eleven Buddha's images of gold, each about fifteen inches high. These images were not to be sold but were to be kept in the Calcutta Museum as curiosities "with the proviso that they are to be restored if hereafter they should be wanted to satisfy the bona fide religious or superstitious desires of scions of the house of Alaungpaya".¹⁸

13 Appendix XI. List of jewels left in Mandalay

14 IFDP November 1886, Sec-E, No 282

15 Ibid. No 284 The Chief Commissioner's letter, 9 10-1886

16 Appendix XII. The Prize Agent's Statement

17 Appendix XIII. Cash Realizations

18 IFDP November 1886, Sec E No 287

The most valuable article was a jewelled coat with large emeralds, also a jewelled betel-box in charge of the Prize Committee¹⁸ The Prize Agent was unable to estimate the value of these various articles sent to England, Calcutta and those still in hand¹⁹ It appears that their value was quite high

The steamers, flats, launches and machinery found on the River, in the royal palace or elsewhere belonging to Thibaw's government were not entrusted to the Prize Committee The successor government was selling them and was able to realize large sums of money Approximately one lakh of rupees had already been realized in cash, and a good deal of machinery was transferred for the use of the various Government Departments It was estimated that one river steamer, one flat, and four launches were worth over 2½ lakhs of rupees The steamer and flat were new and in capital order "We could not buy two new craft like them for less than 2½ lakhs at the present time"¹⁹ These articles including the crowns were deemed to be public property, not personal to the deposed monarch so the new government inherited them What Thibaw and his queens took away with them they were allowed to keep as personal property As an absolute monarch Thibaw would naturally look upon all movable state property to be personal property, and had he been aware of the distinction he would perhaps have taken with him many more jewels than he did The fact of the matter however is that under the circumstances of his departure from Mandalay and his fear of being killed by British soldiers he was not in a state to give sufficient thought to the conservation of his jewels and gold plate Ultimately however it would have made no difference, for in Ratnagiri he would have lost them all in the usual way

His memorial shows that Thibaw was now more conscious than before of the realities of the British power He takes the position of a suppliant willing to be tried even by a British court of law Unconsciously he was anticipating a new phase in international law, namely, the trial of the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg at the close of the Second World War Had he been tried he would most probably have been acquitted He was merely a palace king, all things being done by his Ministers in the name of the monarch This does not mean that the Ministers were wholly to blame They were not constitutional Ministers their lives were at the mercy of the King or his Queen or even the Dowager Queen They were utterly helpless beings Still ultimately they advised surrender According to the testimony of the palace maid in Fielding Hall's *Thibaw's Queen*, it was Supayalat who was the leader of the War

party She was all for war, and so solely responsible for the war which she had no ghost of a chance to win Thibaw and the Dowagar Queen were opposed to the war, but in defiance Supayalat even insulted her mother in the presence of the Councillors Thibaw hated bloodshed and executions, but he surrendered to his wife since he was completely under her control The maid says that Supayalat was "very self-willed, very ambitious, very passionate, very cruel sometimes"—no one must come between her and her husband, if any one did she was pitiless in her measures The maid, as in attendance upon the Queen, claims to be an eyewitness of what went on at the deliberations of the royalties with the Ministers She says that the Kinwun Mingyi was also opposed to the war

Within a few weeks of Thibaw's arrival in Ratnagiri domestic trouble broke out again Chief Commissioner Propert wrote to say that "the ex-King and his Queens are very fanciful constantly wanting something done or undone" Four nurses and the Secretary therefore asked to be sent back to Burma At first the Burma Government was not willing that they should return, but Thibaw also did not want them, so they were sent away²⁰ Their places were taken by three others from Burma²¹

While Thibaw was in Madras he had been allowed by Cox to send Rs 920 to the ex-Minister Kinwun Mingyi for distribution to the poor on the occasion of the Burmese New Year which began on 13 April 1886 This old Minister was distressed at receiving this commission, and it appears he informed the Burma Commissioner of it The Commissioner strongly disapproved of it and wrote to Calcutta, "I suggest that in future the ex-King's alms, if sent at all, should be sent to private persons, not to persons who held high office under the late Government"²² Fanshawe was asked to explain, and he said that Cox had permitted it Cox's explanation was that when Thibaw wanted to send the money he was told that it could not be done through the Government, but that he could send it privately So he authorised Inspector Eaton to receive the money and remit it to Mandalay by Money Order "If in acting thus", Cox said, "I have contravened the wishes and intentions of Government, I can only express my regret for the fact" The Viceroy excused Cox for the action and directed that in future such propositions must not be entertained, and if pressed should be referred to the Government of India²³

In November 1886 Thibaw received a letter from Thungaza Sayadawgale, a head Phoungyi of Moulmein, informing him of the

20 Ibid August 1886 Sec E Nos. 418, 422, 424, 427

Ibid February 1887 Nos. 20-30

21 Ibid May 1886 Extl B Nos. 22, 23

22 Ibid. September 1886 Sec B No 141

23 Ibid Nos 143, 146, 147

death of his and his father Mindon's spiritual adviser Thingaze Sayadaw Pya Gyee, and that the funeral was to take place on the full moon of Nadaw of 1248 B.E (i.e in December 1886) He addressed Thibaw as "Akarit Min Myat" (lit Exalted King-Emperor) Thibaw desired to send a sum of money for the funeral expenses, but it was disallowed under instructions from the Chief Commissioner of Burma²⁴

Commissioner Propert visited Thibaw some time end of February 1887, and in his report he says that he found the ex-monarch "fairly well and fairly happy" Thibaw told Propert that he would prefer being in a place where there was less rain He asked for a competent English teacher as he found time hanging heavily upon him, and was very anxious to become proficient in English "of which he knows a little" Thibaw also requested that the Junior Queen be allowed to visit her relations in Lower Burma Propert told him that he was not likely to be shifted from Ratnagiri, and that it was not possible to allow his queen to go to Burma He advised the ex-monarch to go out more and take more exercise Thibaw, however, was so wrapped up with "the expected confinement of the elder Queen Supayalat that he could scarcely think of anything else" He "expressed himself quite satisfied with the arrangements made for his comfort and well-being" The Commissioner was quite surprised to learn that the two queens were sisters, and "he himself a step brother of his wives" Actually however he was their half-brother, their common father being Mindon That Thibaw wanted to improve his English shows that he did want some company, and may be he wanted to read books in English The Viceroy granted sanction for an English tutor²⁵

The Chief Queen of Mindon had three daughters, Supayagi the Senior, Supayalat the Middle, and Supayange the Junior According to traditional custom Thibaw the new king must make the first daughter his Chief Queen, but Supayalat loved Thibaw and managed to make herself the first Queen However at the coronation the first daughter had the recognition and it was she who was crowned Supayalat the strong-willed wife however displaced her for all practical purposes Thibaw married all three of them, but Supayagi fell into neglect and stayed with her mother

On 25 April 1887 the Senior Queen was safely delivered of a daughter²⁶ So now Thibaw had four daughters, two born in Burma, and two in India It appears that he was now willing to be photographed, but the Bombay Government did not permit it unlike the Madras Government which had no objection Bombay feared the

²⁴ Ibid February 1887, Nos. 1, 2 3, 8 9

²⁵ Ibid No 223A

²⁶ Ibid No 223

and the ex-Emperor Queen, and would I am sure be too glad to leave them" Again, "the King is constantly quarrelling with the Junior Queen, and last night they had another row I think it would be best for all parties if the Queen was allowed to go to her mother in Tavoy The Queen has made complaints about the King's treatment of her, so it would be very unwise of me to attempt to interfere in any way, it would probably make matters worse"³¹

photographs would be published in India and in England, and this would draw public attention to the ex-King and his queens. The Central Government wanted him to be kept in perfect retirement.²⁷ The Burma Government wanted the people of Burma to forget him.

Although Thibaw had given Commissioner Propert to understand that he was quite satisfied with the arrangements made for his comfort, the ex-King longed to be back in Burma, and having no company except the ladies of his house he did not know how to kill time. In June 1887 he forwarded another memorial to the Government. He pleaded that since the climate of Ratnagiri did not suit his family, who often fell ill, he should be sent to some healthy place preferably where the Governor or one of the principal officers of the Presidency resided. Perhaps he wanted to reside in Bombay. He says "That they are sensible that they must stay wherever the Government think fit to keep them, and feel sorry that they are obliged to petition Government, but as they have experienced the bad climate of Ratnagiri, and find that they are feeling very depressed and miserable owing to the bad climate and water, they cannot help troubling Government. That as the Government is generous and the protector of the poor and helpless, they hope that the Government will be pleased to think over their request and help them in any way that they deem best".²⁸ Their feelings are understandable because of the torrential rains, the average in Ratnagiri being 100 inches. In Mandalay they had experience of no more than 25 inches during the rainy season. Their piteous cry however produced not much of an effect upon the Government, and the Viceroy decided not to shift him from Ratnagiri.²⁹ It was a fact however that the Junior Queen was not keeping good health. The Civil Surgeon was therefore asked to examine her and make a report. In his report he said that if she was allowed a change it should be of a temporary nature, and Thibaw should not be allowed to accompany her. His diagnosis was that "the Junior Queen suffers from a proclivity to abortion. If her husband could be made to understand on what grounds I advised the step and recognize their urgency, there would be no need to send the Junior Queen away at all".³⁰ Thibaw was informed of the surgeon's diagnosis and recommendation, and the matter ended there.²⁹

The Junior Queen was not treated with kindness by Thibaw nor by her sister, so that several times she expressed a desire to go to her mother in Tavoy. In April 1888 there was some trouble, and Fanshawe reported that she "went so far as to cut off some of her hair. My private opinion is that she is bullied by both the ex-King

²⁷ Ibid June 1887 Sec-E, Nos. 165 166

²⁸ Ibid August 1887, Sec E, No 436

²⁹ Ibid No 438

³⁰ Ibid No 437

and the ex-Senior Queen, and would I am sure be too glad to leave them" Again, "the King is constantly quarrelling with the Junior Queen, and last night they had another row I think it would be best for all parties if the Queen was allowed to go to her mother in Tavoy The Queen has made complaints about the King's treatment of her, so it would be very unwise of me to attempt to interfere in any way, it would probably make matters worse"³¹

In December 1887 Commissioner Propert remarked to Fanshawe that the ex-King was very extravagant and paid a salary of Rs 150 monthly to his Burmese cook In reply Thibaw admitted that the cook's salary was high, but pleaded that his idea was to encourage others to stay with him, and that his family was a large one now and "it was for their comfort that he was obliged to spend a large sum of money" He therefore at the same time requested that a pocket-money of Rs 1000 per month be paid to him, and that he would keep a careful account and produce it for inspection Finally that he was thankful to the British Government for the provision made for him, but that his allowance was not enough to pay for his Buddhist religious offerings³² A sum of Rs 600 monthly was earmarked as Supayalat's pocket-money, so Thibaw thought he also must have pocket-money But it was not sanctioned

While Thibaw was memorialising the Government of India, certain developments were going on in Tavoy where his mother-in-law had been interned, developments which ultimately affected him In February 1886 the Dowager Queen wrote to Commissioner Bernard claiming some property which she had left behind in Mandalay She was informed that the property could not be identified either it was stolen by Burmese women or it went to the Prize Committee³³ She then addressed a letter³⁴ to the Viceroy about it and submitted a list³⁵ of the articles she had left behind Earlier Sladen had been questioned about the matter and his statement was as follows—"I remember the Dowager-Queen taking me to her apartments and showing me three heavy well-secured boxes, which she said contained Rs 30,000 I said the boxes would be safe but that I could make no promises about the money I received no keys whatever I may mention that at this time, in addition to the ordinary female attendants, the Queen's apartments seemed to be full of common women, who were going about in all directions packing up bundles and carrying them away Any separate property that the Queen-Dowager may have left after the King's abdication will have got mixed up with the other palace property and come into

³¹ Born, G R. Pol. Dept Vol XA, No 155A Fanshawe to Collector 7-3-1888, Collector to Commissioner Propert, 2 5-1888

³² Ibid Thibaw's Petition 31-12 1887

³³ IFDP October 1887, Sec-E Nos 174, 175

³⁴ Appendix XIV The Dowager's letter to the Viceroy

³⁵ Appendix XV List of articles claimed by the Dowager

the hands of the Prize Committee. If she can identify any of this as her own, I think she should be allowed possession"³⁶

The Viceroy expressed regret at the loss of the old queen's property and that nothing could now be done about it as determined by Crosthwaite the new Chief Commissioner of Burma³⁷ Hsinbyumashin claims in her letter to the Viceroy that she voluntarily left Mandalay to keep her daughter the Queen company up to Rangoon, and that Sladen had assured her that she was free to go where she liked. This cannot be believed. She was the kingmaker in 1878, she was responsible for the massacre of the royal captives and she was known to be a rash bold woman. The new Government could ill afford to leave her free. She says that she would have remained in Mandalay but for the opportunities of her daughter the Queen. Where would she have lived in Mandalay? Neither her jewelled property nor her life would have been safe in Mandalay where she was known to have been responsible for the palace massacres when she successfully managed Thibaw's succession to the throne. As to claims to property, the vanquished has no legal right to anything except what the victor may allow in his mercy, and the British were certainly very liberal in their treatment of the dethroned monarch as well as to the princes and princesses of Upper Burma many scores of whom were granted pensions³⁸

Early in 1888 a revolt broke out in Tavoy which the British speedily crushed. Hsinbyumashin was suspected to have had something to do with the outbreak, so she, her eldest daughter Supayangi, and the 21 year old Kawlin prince (who had been interned in Mergui) were speedily deported to India. They were first brought to Calcutta (10 June 1888) where the old queen expressed a desire to reside. She did not want to go to Ratnagiri on the plea that she did not get along well with Thibaw, rather she disliked him. The Viceroy however replied that she must proceed to Ratnagiri and that she would be accommodated in a separate house³⁹. Since she did not like the sea, and the voyage would have taken 17 days, she and the other two were taken by rail to Bombay, whence by boat they arrived in Ratnagiri on 22 August 1888⁴⁰. Thibaw was pleased to see his mother-in-law and desired her to stay in his house, which she did⁴⁰. The tender feeling however was of a transient nature. Differences soon arose and the old lady desired to quit. The rift made itself manifest before four weeks had gone by. There was a serious quarrel between the two. It became so serious that the Collector spoke to Thibaw about it, and the latter said that he

36 IFDP October 1887, Sec E No 178 Note by Sladen 6-3-1886

37 Ibid No 179

38 Appendix XVI List of Royal Pensioners

39 IRDP February 1888 Sec-E, Nos. 346, 348, 349, 263 264, 365, 368, 369

40 Ibid. May 1889, No 573

would apologize to the Dowager Maung Po, the interpreter, feared an attempt to even poisoning may be made. Hence all *datura* plants in the compound were removed⁴¹ The ill feeling rose to such a height that she had to be shifted to the Mission House close by⁴⁰

Government Records do not state what the quarrel was about Most probably it was the remembrance of the old grouse that Hsin byumashin had against her daughter and son in law She was solely instrumental in getting the throne for Thibaw who married all her three daughters As mother she hoped to control both the King and the Queens The attempt however failed. Then came the war to which she was opposed, and now she was a captive. She could rightly charge both the daughter and her husband as being responsible for her unhappy lot for life

On 21 July 1889 Fanshawe was succeeded in his post by H Allbon, also a police officer of the Burma Government. Although he held charge for nearly six years, Thibaw did not get along well with him and ultimately, as will be seen, managed to have him removed From the start Thibaw was prejudiced against Allbon because he was only an Assistant Superintendent of Police Within a few days of his joining duty Collector Candy reported that "Thibaw began at once to assume airs and was most inquisitive as to Mr Allbon's authority"⁴²

The Bombay Commissioner, who was in over all charge of Thibaw, realizing from the latter's memorials to the Viceroy that he was brooding over his situation, suggested to his Government granting much more liberty to the ex King than had been his portion hitherto The ex King himself, he wrote to Bombay, "with his wives and children should be encouraged to go about the station of Ratnagiri I have never objected to their even paying visits to the various European officers Up to the last month or two however, although the Royal children used to make use of the carriages kept by the Government for the use of the party, neither Thibaw nor his Queens seemed to care about going out Mr Fanshawe also according to information I have received, seemed averse to allow charges being seen by outsiders Lately, however, things have proved, and the Collector informs me that upon two or three occasions the ex King and his family have visited his (Collector's) club, etc⁴⁰ Commissioner Propert, who looked at the a very human way, also pressed upon the Collector and the entire party should on every occasion be allowed amount of liberty, but that no intercourse was to be between the principal Burmese and the town people

⁴¹ Bom. G. R. Pol. Dept. Collector Candy to Government of India, 22-5-1889

⁴² Ibid. Candy to Government of India, 22-5-1889

queens were to be encouraged in every way to visit and converse with European officers and ladies of Ratnagiri.⁴⁰ The Viceroy fully agreed with the Commissioner's policy.

Trouble broke out also between Hsinbyumashin and her eldest daughter Supayagi. The daughter represented that her mother constantly illtreated her. The Government therefore permitted her to return to Burma. Soon after, however, she wrote to her mother that she was very unhappy without her, and begged her to come and live with her in Rangoon.⁴³ The mother was also anxious to go and memorialised the Government to this effect.⁴⁴ In her memorial she thanked the Government for granting her a comfortable pension, and declared that while in Tavoy she had not acted in any way contrary to the wishes of Government. Actually she did not want to leave Tavoy, but in the memorial she says that at her request she was shifted from that town. Then again, in reality she wanted to reside in Calcutta and did not want to go to Ratnagiri, but in her memorial she says that at her desire she was sent to Ratnagiri. Finally she requested that she be allowed to return to Rangoon since she was feeling unhappy at being parted from her eldest daughter, and the climate of Ratnagiri did not suit her.

The Collector recommended the Dowager's transfer to Rangoon, but the Commissioner of Burma did not agree to it. In his view Hsinbyumashin was the cause of the Tavoy disturbance, and he suspected that she was plotting again to create trouble. "The strange inconsistency", wrote the Commissioner, "between Suphayagi's former statements and her present anxiety to get her mother to join her are very suspicious".⁴⁵ A year later however she was permitted to return to Rangoon.⁴⁶ She bought a house there on Boundary Road, near the Government House, and lived there with her eldest daughter who pre-deceased her.⁴⁷ The Dowager died in her house early in March 1900.⁴⁸ Thibaw claimed all the property left by his mother-in-law, and his claim was in due course recognized by Government. However the old queen had left large debts and the expense for the funeral was heavy, so scarcely anything remained for the heirs. The Government contributed Rs 1000 towards the funeral, and she was buried in the Mandalay Palace near her husband Mindon Min's tomb.⁴⁹ One of Thibaw's grand-daughters re-

IFDP July 1890 See E, No 30
Appendix XVII Hsinbyumashin's Memorial.
IFDP July 1890 See E, Nos 30, 32, 33

Ibid March 1895, No 77
C F 1900, Political Dept. Burma
Rangoon to Commissioner Pegu
Ibid Telegram dated 3-3-1900 from
"the Dowager's death in Ran
February or beginning of March 1900
Ibid. Letter from the Police Officer
Collector to the Pol. Dept. Bombay
Commissioner, Pegu Division, 24-4-
-7-1900

42, Letter from
1900

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ports that "when our family went to visit Mingun we were shown the tomb of Supayagyī and were told by the Sayadaw or head monk that she became a nun before her death and lived the life of a recluse in prayer"

Chapter IV

LAW, ALLBON AND EDGELOW

Soon after Thibaw's deportation to India the question arose as to the public and private debts incurred by him during the period of his sovereignty over Upper Burma, and also the debts incurred by him as a private individual after his deposition. As to his debts of the first category, many claims had been received and considered by the Government of Burma as well as by the Government of India. The Viceroy declared that his Government could not admit any liability for the private debts of Thibaw incurred before his deposition, but that as a matter of grace such claims as had a genuine and equitable basis would be favourably taken into consideration.¹ The Chief Commissioner of Burma had already considered and rejected a large number of such claims. Still there were people who thought there was nothing to lose in trying a hand with the Government of India. There were a number of individuals as well as firms who were honestly or dishonestly preferring their claims. An interesting adventure was made by one W O Law, a lawyer of Mandalay, in behalf of forty-one of his clients.

Law wrote to the Viceroy direct, claiming over seven lakhs of rupees debts due by Thibaw. He said that the claims were charges on the public revenues of Upper Burma, and curiously enough he requested that Thibaw be asked to consider each claim, and those "he disowns would be struck out".² These words show that Law was ignorant of the machinery of the King's government. The Wungyis, that is the Ministers would know the details as to the financial commitments of the State. Thibaw the young King could scarcely be expected to enter into such individual contracts or claims. But at the same time Law threatened that if the British Government did not wish to pay "we should not be prevented from getting them from Thibaw himself", and that if not paid, the clients wanted their claims put upon the table of the House of Commons. Finally he said his clients were willing to take one-third off for prompt payment by the Government of India.²

Law felt pretty confident of a favourable response to his demand accompanied by an offer of compromise. He had obtained a

¹ IFDP November 1887, Sec-E. Keep With No 2. Telegram from the Government of India to the Government of Burma.

² Ibid May 1890, Sec-E, No 212, 7-1 1890

letter of introduction to the Viceroy from Lord Aberdare who among other things said "I have known him long (he married a cousin of mine), and believe him to be an upright, honourable man, and a good lawyer. He once practised at Rangoon or Moulmein (I forget which) and did a considerable business. He writes to me that he has been asked by a considerable number of Thibaw's creditors to urge their claims for payment, and has undertaken the task. As a preliminary he must see Thibaw, and get his admission of the claims, which will then be submitted to you, and it is with this object that he asks for credentials. I feel sure that he will urge no claims which he does not believe to be genuine"³

Law wrote again to the Viceroy to say that the exact amount due from Thibaw was Rs 859,550, and made the following most confidential but curious suggestion "Send your own confidential man to the ex-King Thibaw to ask him whether the claims I advance are true or not. I would ask you on the truth of the claims being clear, to give a cheque for the amount to Lord Aberdare who will again give me credit in England, on which I will draw in paying off the claimants. This I will do as it will embarrass Government less, as I do not want the matter to become public, and thereby possibly get the Government harassed with claims of which there are over 50 lakhs"⁴ In other words, Law's proposition was in the nature of "blackmail", if not six times more claims would be preferred against the keepers of Thibaw!

One of the Counsellors of the Viceroy made the following remark on Law's letter "I know Mr Law, who is a very foolish man as his letter to the Private Secretary sufficiently indicates"⁵ The Viceroy was not to be taken in by Law's artifice. Law was informed clearly to understand that of the forty-one claims seventeen had been previously considered and rejected, that a full investigation had been made in Burma, and that Government could not now consent to reopen any of those cases. Finally that the remaining 24 cases must also have been similarly investigated and dealt with⁶ Law did not take any further action in the matter

Thibaw personally did not come into the picture of Law's claims, the matter was solved by the Viceroy and his Government. One Moroki, a Turk claimed, through the Turkish Consul-General at Bombay, Rs 19,000 for four mirrors supplied to Thibaw in Mandalay. These were offered back to him after Thibaw's exit from Mandalay. He refused to take delivery of them, since, he said, they would be worthless to him. The Executive Engineer then sold them by auction for Rs 494/14. To compensate Moroki, the Government

3 Ibid No 213

4 Ibid No 214

5 Ibid Kepp With No 1

6 Ibid No 218 Letter dated 20 5 1890

of India paid him Rs 4000 with which the dealer was not satisfied. He threatened to file a suit against Thibaw.⁷ The Government consulted the Advocate-General who said that "no court in British India could entertain a suit founded upon a contract alleged to have been entered into by the ex-King in Burma during the time of his sovereignty."⁸

Thibaw meanwhile was feeling very unhappy over his position in Ratnagiri. He was like a foreign bird in a cage kept in isolation. His wives and four children together with some forty servants were with him, but he was not the controller of the household nor of the kitchen. The Political Officer who was a Police Officer was in charge. Hitherto he had been selling his jewels and spending the monies realized as he pleased, but his stock of valuables was fast getting depleted. In 1886 alone he had sold gold to one Phadke, a Sowkar, for Rs 2725, to Jiwanji, Proprietor of the Great Western Hotel, Bombay, for Rs 5400, Brilliant Diamonds 52 in number to Hamilton & Co, Bombay for Rs 4531/8, and in 1887 a number of diamonds for Rs 16,955/4.⁹ The total amount realized was placed in a bank in his name,⁹ but it began fast to disappear because of his extravagance. This was worrying him. After all his jewels went off his hands he would have no private funds of his own, and so would be entirely dependent upon the Government and the Political Officer who held the purse. There would be no pocket money for him. The position was indeed very humiliating.

Besides, he had come to dislike Allbon the Political Officer who was running the ex-king's household and controlling the Indian servants whose salaries also he paid. So far as the Burmese maid-servants and nurses were concerned, Thibaw, in keeping with the royal practice of old, paid them no salaries, but gave them occasionally presents of jewels and precious stones. These girls had, as has been noticed, not the same respect for these royalties as before. After all the precious things had vanished what would be the situation? Thibaw had been selling his jewels through Allbon, and he felt that this officer's dealings with him were neither straight nor fair. He therefore decided to try and have Allbon removed from his office, and persuade the Government to recognize him as the controller of his household, to place whatever amount of money was sanctioned in his hands, and thus to grant him liberty of action in and over his own establishment. Thibaw's feelings and reactions were correct and human. Some time earlier the interpreter had been sent away to Burma because Thibaw took a dislike to him. Allbon was then appointed to fill the position on an extra allowance.

7 Ibid July 1890 Sec E Nos. 16 and 20

8 Ibid November 1887 No 15

9 Ibid No 16

character used frequently to take place (3) That Allbon used to dismiss the servants after Thibaw had trained them, and that he often rebuked and dismissed servants for nothing, for example, if a mango or sweetmeat was purchased for one of the children (4) That as in charge of the house, Allbon doled out rations and there was not enough food for all Servants therefore got discontented and left and that Allbon even beat the servants (5) That the ex King wrote three memorials but Allbon suppressed them, or changed the wording (6) That when Allbon sells the ex King's jewelry he does so without consultation and just informs Thibaw of the amount realized, and that he sells it at a considerably low price (7) That out of the Rs 4000 sanctioned for the household Allbon makes personal profit (8) That when one of the Ranees was going in a palkhy to see her mother guards raised the curtain of the palkhy and looked in So now they do not go out (9) That it was too humiliating for the ex King to apply for leave to a Police Officer of ~~s~~ standing to go for a drive (10) That Thibaw has been obliged to bestow presents upon Allbon from time to time to secure his services In short that Allbon abuses his position by thus oppressing the ex King and that he blackmails him Finally, that if the ex King's complaints would die a natural death if Allbon were removed

Thibaw asked the Government to allow him to consult a solicitor about his private affairs. The Viceroy had no objection, but it was made clear that no such person would be recognized as an intermediary in political matters.¹⁰ Thibaw somehow managed to get the name and address of an English solicitor, Frederick Edgelow of Bombay. He sent him through some emissary an oral message, and later had the following letter in Marathi addressed to him "I have come to know of your name. I therefore write to you. I wish to speak to Government to make certain alterations in the condition in which I am at present placed. Your assistance is required for that. I have heard that you have applied for leave (that is permission) to see me. But the feelings of the officer¹¹ who has been appointed by Government (to be the medium of communication) between me and the Government are not good towards me. Therefore I am not very sanguine about your being able to see me and lay my grievances before Government. Therefore do you immediately try to come and see me. The Political Officer says there is no necessity for a Barrister to come".¹²

In May 1892 the Collector interviewed Thibaw over the matter, but the latter did not mention his grievances and complaints. He said that he wanted the help of a barrister so as to be able to make representations to Government from time to time. The Collector says that he was non-committal, and "said he had no complaint to make", but that he wanted more control over the household servants and household arrangements, and that he would like himself to pay the servants their salaries. The Collector did not realize that the ex-King was unhappy over the situation, so he just recommended that Edgelow's request for permission to see Thibaw be rejected, since "as it is, letters and messages are being conveyed outside".¹³

In the end however, Edgelow was permitted to see Thibaw, as a result of which he drew up a long list of charges against Allbon. The most serious charges were (1) That Allbon used to send the Burmese Interpreter¹⁴ to Thibaw at most inconvenient hours, for example, at 12 mid night, to inspect the royal jewelry, and that once when Thibaw refused to show it to him, the matter was reported to the Collector who wrote a letter of rebuke to the ex-King.¹⁵ (2) That four Burmese girls, two boys and a Burmese mistry were removed by Allbon from the ex King's house, and kept for some time in Allbon's house "where orgies and carousals of a disgraceful

¹⁰ Ibid June 1892 Exl B No 218

¹¹ Allbon.

¹² IFDP October 1892, Exl B No 114

¹³ Ibid No 118

¹⁴ He was later sent back to Burma

¹⁵ Appendix XVIII The Collector's Letter of Rebuke to Thibaw

character used frequently to take place" (3) That Allbon used to dismiss the servants after Thibaw had trained them, and that he often rebuked and dismissed servants for nothing, for example, "if a margo or sweetmeat was purchased for one of the children" (4) That as in charge of the house, Allbon doled out rations and there was not enough food for all Servants therefore got discontented and left, and that Allbon even beat the servants (5) That the ex-King wrote three memorials but Allbon suppressed them, or changed the wording (6) That when Allbon sells the ex-King's jewelry he does so without consultation, and just informs Thibaw of the amount realized, and that he sells it at a considerably low price (7) That out of the Rs 4000 sanctioned for the household, Allbon makes personal profit (8) That when one of the Ranees was going in a palkhy to see her mother, guards raised the curtain of the palkhy and looked in So now they do not go out (9) That it was too humiliating for the ex-King to apply for leave to a Police Officer of Allbon's standing to go for a drive (10) That Thibaw has been obliged to bestow presents upon Allbon from time to time to secure better treatment In short that Allbon abuses his position by thus persecuting the ex-King, and that he blackmails him Finally, that most of the complaints would die a natural death if Allbon were removed ¹⁶

The Collector called upon Allbon for an explanation, and directed him in the meanwhile not to go to see Thibaw Allbon submitted his explanation, which, in his report to the Bombay Government, the Collector said was "temperate, dignified, and as I believe, a truthful and satisfactory reply to the charges" (1) As to the inspection of jewels at mid-night, it was the Burmese interpreter's action when the latter was acting for Allbon who was on leave ¹⁷ (2) The Burmese girls At the Collector's order these girls were removed from Thibaw's bungalow, because they were being seriously ill-treated by Thibaw's family They were taken not to Allbon's house but to a Government bungalow close to Thibaw's house The orgies and carousals were denied In the Collector's opinion the accusation was unbelievable since Allbon was 55 years of age and suffered from a weak heart (3) Ten servants were dismissed

16 IFDP June 1892 Extl B No 124

17 This interpreter was Maung Po a Myo-ok or Tehsildar of British Burma He 'had a way of making himself objectionable to the Royal Party' Thibaw even refused to receive him So he was sent back to Burma IFDP 1891 Extl-B, Nos 195-207 It was certainly very unwise to place such a petty officer in charge of the ex King Thibaw would naturally look upon him as a one time slave of Burmese Royalty His appointment to officiate for Allbon is all the more surprising because at an earlier date the ex-King had complained against him to the Governor in the following words " I have been very unhappy since the month of June and as I have no one to trust to except Your Excellency, Your Excellency will have compassion on me and help me that he (the interpreter) has no feeling for other creatures, but just does what he likes and takes what he wishes I hope Your Excellency will do justice' C F 1890 Pol Dept Vol II, No 39 Thibaw's Complaint, 27 7 1889, Bom G R 1890

and correctly so one Burmese cook because he suffered from a disease, two for bad behaviour, one for habitual disobedience, one dismissed by Thibaw himself and the others went on leave and did not return (4) That Allbon was managing the house because it is what he is employed for (5) All the memorials were delivered intact to the authorities that they are in Government custody and could be checked up (6) That Allbon had sold Thibaw's jewels only on two occasions and that the ex King could have fixed his reserve price (7) No reply was made as to the profits Allbon was alleged to be making over the household expenses (8) As to the Ranees it was the duty of the guards to see who went out (9) Permission to go for a drive That even if Allbon were removed restraints upon the ex King would continue (10) That the only presents accepted were some chutney, dry fish etc, of trifling value which Allbon could not refuse out of propriety¹⁸

The Collector supported Allbon except in that he had made use of Thibaw's tailor which he should not have done, but that in any case Allbon paid the tailor for his services The Collector's recommendation to the Government was that Thibaw's charges were exaggerated and untenable The Government agreed with the Collector and instructed him personally to see Thibaw and tell him that the complaints were inaccurate and exaggerated, also that in future if he had any complaints these should be preferred by him direct to the Collector Finally that no further advantage was to be gained by allowing Edgelow to visit him again¹⁹

It is surprising that the Government of Bombay should have decided to retain the services of an officer as controller of Thibaw's household though the latter had developed an inveterate repugnance for this individual It is possible some of the complaints were somewhat exaggerated but the defence advanced as to some of the charges is by no means convincing Thibaw never had any complaints against Cox and Fanshawe He however did not give up the fight, and finally succeeded not only in having Allbon removed but also secured control over the purse and the management over his household

At the first interview Thibaw had given to Edgelow jewels worth Rs 17 000 in payment for his services and had promised him more on completion of the business²⁰ To Edgelow the business was very lucrative indeed He entered heart and soul into it, and as will be seen later, he finally presented to Thibaw a tall bill When he was not permitted by the Bombay Government to see Thibaw a second time he appealed to the Viceroy and at the same time

18 IFDP June 1892 No 141

19 Ibid No 145 Government Resolution 7 8 1892

20 Ibid August 1893 Ext B No 175

addressed the following letter to Thibaw²¹ 'To His Highness Ex-King Thibaw, Ratnagiri Maharaja, I have been given to understand by Government that in case Your Highness entertains a wish to have an interview with me in connection with any business the same will be fully taken into consideration by Government Your Highness may freely communicate to the Collector of Ratnagiri any wish Your Highness may entertain in connection with the matter It is needless for me to say that I am desirous of having an interview with Your Highness and to tell Your Highness what I have done in connection with the business entrusted to me by Your Highness Your Highness' Humble servant, Sd/- Fred Edgelow"

Soon after, in October 1892 Thibaw memorialised the Governor of Bombay.²² He made three requests that the allowance sanctioned for him be paid to him and he be allowed to manage the establishment, second, that he be allowed to dispose of his jewels or to have them altered and set to his taste, and third that he be permitted to employ his own servants with the right to control them The Governor-in Council however came to the conclusion "that it would not be in the interests or comfort of the ex-King to be troubled with the details of house management, or for one in his position to have to engage, pay, and dismiss servants, or deal directly with tradesmen He should be informed to that effect and the present arrangement should continue"²³ This was indeed a very unimaginative decision How was the unfortunate ex-King to spend his time! Having nothing particular to do he was wise in his desire to be the master of his own establishment But the authorities were at this time afraid that making contacts with business people without, he might manage to escape as did Napoleon from Elba!

As to his jewelry, no real obstacles had so far been put in his way, only the Government was afraid tradesmen would cheat him It was resolved that he could sell his jewelry to persons of approved respectability²⁴ A letter from the Governor of Bombay to the Viceroy plainly says that Thibaw was selling his jewels secretly and was being cheated The authorized procedure was "that the ex-King was to report his sales, and that no steps are to be taken by the Collector or Police Officer to dispose off the ex-King's jewellery without express permission But as a matter of fact the ex King finds means of parting with his jewellery, and this Government has consequently advised him to be more open and to state what jewels he wishes sold Our Toshkhana could then quietly value them, and we might allow the sale to be made known on

²¹ Ibid No 176

²² Ibid Appendix XIX Memorial to Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay

²³ Ibid August 1893, Extl B No 182

²⁴ Ibid

behalf of the ex-King so that competitive prices might be obtained"²⁴

In the meanwhile Edgelow had an interview on 5 November 1892 with the Private Secretary of the Viceroy,²⁵ and ultimately he was permitted to see Thibaw again which he did in May 1893. He asked for Rs 30,000 but Thibaw was shrewd enough not to give it. After this interview he wrote about thirty letters to Edgelow and promised him up to one lakh of rupees if he could manage to have Allbon removed and obtain for him the control of the household. Through appeals and interviews with the authorities Edgelow succeeded in interviewing the ex-King not less than six times but he got nothing more than the seventeen thousand rupees given to him at the first interview. Thibaw continued to make promises. Finally, on 20 April 1896 he wrote to Edgelow that he was unable to pay him since he had sold all his jewels during the three years that attempts were being made to get him relief,²⁶ and that the jewelry still in his possession all stood mortgaged.²⁷

Edgelow meanwhile had been giving no rest to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay pressing upon them the importance of sending away Allbon and putting Thibaw in full charge of his household. Finally the Viceroy decided to retire Allbon, fearing Edgelow would take the matter up with the Secretary of State for India.²⁸ Allbon was relieved on 14 May 1894 by R E Barber, also a Police Officer from Burma.²⁹ Barber was found satisfactory in every way, but he remained in charge for a year and a half only. His place was taken by H Deighton on 11 December 1895. In spite of all this tension between Thibaw and Allbon, it is curious that Miss Allbon, Allbon's daughter, was in April 1892 appointed as tutor in English to the two eldest daughters of Thibaw. At the end of six months at the ex King's desire she was reappointed, since the Princesses were making good progress in their studies.³⁰ It will be seen later however, that the progress was of a very limited nature indeed.

But so far only half the battle had been won, and the more important matter still remained. Government had been thinking for some time of transferring Thibaw elsewhere before putting him in charge of his allowance and management of the household. A number of stations came under consideration, such as Madras, Bellary, Vellore, Ootacamand, some place in Malabar, Bengal, Punjab, and even the North West Frontier. Ultimately however it was decided

²⁴ Ibid February 1893 No 20

²⁵ Ibid No 156

²⁶ Ibid March 1898 Sec B No 79

²⁷ Ibid Nos 91 101

²⁸ Ibid September 1894 Sec E No 164

²⁹ Ibid No 150

³⁰ Ibid March 1893 Exh B Nos 104 107

to keep him in Ratnagiri only.³¹ Thibaw came to know about the proposed transfer and this too was preying upon his mind. Edgelow kept up his pressure upon Government, and on 21 August 1895 wrote to the Viceroy that though Allbon had been sent away "the management of his (Thibaw's) Government allowance has not yet been entrusted to him. The original proposal was to transfer the illustrious exile to Madras Presidency before granting him this particular item of relief . . . I would respectfully point out that the ex-King has now been kept in a constant state of feverish expectation, doubt and anxiety for more than a year, and the prolonged delay is operating very deplorably upon his mind, and ought not to be allowed to continue. It would be better to leave him in Ratnagiri altogether, and give him the promised relief there than delay a settlement of the question any longer. Can you give me any information which may enable me to calm the ex-King's mind".³²

The Governor-General-in-Council decided in October 1895 to grant Thibaw his desire. From 1 January 1896 he was to manage his household, and an allowance of Rs 3000 monthly would be paid to him, and that he could appoint and remove his own domestics as he chose without reference to the Police Officer in charge. If he borrowed money from private individuals, or ran up bills with traders far beyond his monthly allowance, the Government, his keepers, may legally be held responsible. A case which had alarmed the authorities had already occurred. Thibaw had borrowed Rs. 2000 in April 1893 from an Indian banker, and that openly with the assistance of Allbon, and with the oral permission of the Collector. He said the money was needed for his Water Festival. He however failed to pay it back in spite of repeated applications from the banker. The banker then applied to the Collector, and the matter went up to the Viceroy who said that "the affair was not creditable to the officers in charge of the ex-King". The Government of India paid off the banker.³³ The upshot was that a law was enacted on 17 October 1895, incapacitating Thibaw from binding himself by contract, so as to give rise to any enforceable pecuniary obligation.³⁴ As to debts already contracted, after his deportation to India, the Act provided for liquidation of the same from the private and movable property in possession of Thibaw. The jewels however were fast taking wings to themselves, so that by the time the Act came into force there was scarcely any valuable property remaining with him. Fanshawe had sold for him jewels for over Rs. 40,000. Later one jewel alone fetched him Rs 40,000, while the buyer sold it for

31. Nos 164, 170, 171.

32. Ibid. November 1895, No. 132.

33. Ibid. No 135.

34. Ibid. September 1895, Nos. 77, 79, 80, 83, 84

35. Ibid. March 1898; No 98

Rs 90,000 Subsequently this particular jewel was valued at over two lakhs of rupees, and there was police investigation over it

The Act³⁶ also empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to nominate one or more Commissioners to examine and decide on all pecuniary claims that may hitherto be pending against the ex-king. There was to be no appeal to any Court or other authority whatever against the award or decision of the Committee of Commissioners, "provided that the Governor-General-in Council may, for reasons to be stated in the order, refer back any award to the Committee for reconsideration in respect of any particular question or questions"

This new law dropped as a bomb-shell upon Edgelow. He had indeed laboured and succeeded in the task entrusted to him by the ex-King, but he had received so far only rupees seventeen thousand while his claim was one lakh of rupees, and Thibaw had promised him this amount. Now, because of the new law he could only get payment through the Committee of Commissioners. He memorialised the Governor of Bombay for permission to see Thibaw. The Governor saw no objection but consulted the Viceroy who objected to it because of the recent legislation on Thibaw's debts³⁷

Edgelow was now at his wits' end. He drew up a long and a fighting memorial³⁸ to the Viceroy. His greatest concern was indeed the question of his legal fee, but diplomatically he concluded his memorial by saying that he may be allowed private access to the ex-King since he wanted "to explain to His Highness the actual position of the business with which His Highness was expressly permitted by the Government of India to entrust me and to confer thereon and to complete in conference with His Highness the further memorial His Highness desires me to present to the Governor-General-in Council on His Highness' behalf"³⁹

The Viceroy decided to allow Edgelow to see Thibaw if the latter desired it. But the lawyer was given distinctly to understand that "no promise to pay, now made by the ex King will be binding—or regarded at all—and that no claim to any services hereafter rendered to the ex-King will be recognized as a claim against his private property until after satisfaction of all claims under the Act"⁴⁰ Edgelow could act for Thibaw, but it was distinctly stipulated that he must not expect to be paid out of any surplus that may be available after all the claims under the Act were satisfied, except with the approval of the Government of India. Besides, the Viceroy's direction to Bombay was that care be taken to prevent Thibaw

36 Appendix XX. The Act.

37 IFDP June 1896, Sec-E, Nos. 274, 275

38 Appendix XXI. Edgelow's Memorial in behalf of Thibaw

39 IFDP June 1896, Sec-E, No 273

40 Ibid No 280

from handing over to Edgelow any valuable property, other than money, now in the ex-King's possession, and that "any such transfer, if made otherwise than under process of law should be treated as fraud upon the other creditors of the ex-King" Edgelow was warned as to this, and the position was also explained to Thibaw Finally that Edgelow be allowed to see Thibaw only if the latter desired to continue his relations with the solicitor, if not, Edgelow "may simply be so informed"⁴⁰

It may be that Edgelow saw through the situation, namely, that there was no chance of getting any satisfaction, as to his legal fees by an interview with Thibaw He therefore sent in his claim to the Committee of Commissioners appointed by the Governor General⁴¹

The Governor General appointed a Committee of three Commissioners W W Drew I C S Collector of Ratnagiri, V V Wagle First Class Subordinate Judge, and H Deighton D S P Officer in charge of the ex-King In all 98 claims were received, 95 of which were from Burma, almost all from Mandalay All the claims from Burma were rejected because they concerned liabilities incurred by Thibaw while he was a ruling sovereign They did not come under the Act One claim was time barred, while a claim by one Rediz was rejected⁴² Only one claim was admitted, namely, that of Edgelow and his partner-solicitor Gulabchand They claimed one lakh of rupees The Commissioners considered the claim to be unreasonably high and cut it down to Rs 72,000 Since Edgelow had already received Rs 17,000 from Thibaw, on deduction of this amount the balance of Rs 55,000 was awarded The Government paid the amount and Edgelow acknowledged receipt⁴³

Since Thibaw's debts were more than his assets, according to Section 10(1) of the Act the whole of his movable property became vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council on behalf of Queen Victoria, her heirs, and successors Thibaw was informed of this and a public notification was issued as a warning to the public⁴⁴

Before the award was made, Thibaw was asked to make his statement which he did In his statement⁴⁵ he furnished a history

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid March 1898 Sec-E No 69

42 Rediz was a minor He said that his father in his transactions with Thibaw had a claim of Rs 14 062-2-3 plus interest Rs 8 443 In this claim Thibaw is called Ex King Thibaw alias Fauja Saheb, late King of Burma now residing in Ratnagiri Thibaw denied all knowledge of this alleged debt The Committee rejected the claim as not proved IFDP May 1898, Extl A, No 112

43 IFDP March 1898, Nos 81 104-106

44 Ibid No 105

45 Appendix XXII Thibaw's Statement

of his dealings with Edgelow. It is a human document and portrays in some ways the disarming simplicity of his personality. He calls himself 'His Most Excellent and August Majesty King Thibaw'. He says that he has no means to pay, and that "if the Committee will ask Government to give me a higher allowance or clothing allowance, whichever they think best, I will then pay Mr Edgelow a monthly instalment from it". He had given to Edgelow a written promise that he would pay him his dues, and in a letter to Edgelow he had agreed to pay him one lakh of rupees. Edgelow's memorial and dealings with Thibaw show that he was playing the part of a shark wanting to swallow the unfortunate ex-monarch's jewels. When India was a Dependency of Great Britain, Britishers in the country, by reason of being members of the ruling race, enjoyed many privileges officially as well as unofficially. Being an Englishman of social position and knowing some or many of the high placed Civil Servicemen Edgelow had pretty easy access to them, and he made full use of this open door with much success. It must be recognized however that he secured for Thibaw what he most desired.

The Commissioners had put a number of questions to Thibaw in respect of his dealings with Edgelow. In reply he said "I admit that I have to pay Mr Edgelow one lakh of rupees", but that he had no means of paying it.⁴⁶

The amount of Rs 72 000 awarded to Edgelow and partner was pretty high, considering that the value of the rupee was very much higher as compared to what it is today. He was allowed Rs 500 per day for 123 days, and his partner Gulabchand (who knew Burmese) Rs 100 per diem for 25 days. Edgelow wrote four memorials for Thibaw for which the award was Rs 5000, and Rs 3000 expenses for journeys etc.⁴⁷ However it was not Thibaw who paid these charges but the Government of India. Had the authorities realized much earlier than they did that Thibaw was a harmless detenu, and treated him as the last Peshwa Baji Rao II was, all this botheration and expense would have been saved. Baji Rao enjoyed a pension of eight lakhs of rupees yearly. Thibaw would have been perhaps satisfied with two lakhs. There seemed to be no danger of Thibaw escaping to Burma to resume his sovereignty. He was no Napoleon. The British had before the end of the century pacified the country. However, since for nearly ten years, after the annexation of Upper Burma, the country was disturbed by numerous dacoit chiefs, the Government considered it safe to keep a good eye on Thibaw.

46 IFDP March 1895 Sec-E No 77

47 Ibid. Nos. 81, 104 106

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